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THE FIRST GREAT CANADIAN

THE STORY OF PIERRE LE MOYNE

SIEUR D'IBERVILLE



Le Marquis D'oberville

THE
FIRST GREAT CANADIAN

THE STORY OF PIERRE LE MOYNE

SIEUR D'IBERVILLE

BY

CHARLES B. REED

Author of "The Masters of the Wilderness"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS



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To the gallant comrade of town and wilderness, whose noble elevation of mind and broad human sympathies are a constant source of inspiration, this monograph is dedicated as a tribute of admiration and affection.

PREFACE

IN this work for the first time an attempt is made to bring together with some approach to accuracy and continuity the scattered incidents in the life of Le Moyne d'Iberville. His activities were so various and were conducted in such widely separate arenas that it is not surprising that much confusion and obscurity surround his brief career. It is remarkable, however, that in the two centuries that have passed since his death no one in France or Canada, save only Desmazures, has made any adequate effort to commemorate and signalize the romantic and adventurous career of a man whose brave deeds and high ambitions brought wealth, vast territories, and great honor to those realms in whose behalf his life was spent. His feats of endurance and of achievement were so numerous and so extraordinary as to be wellnigh incredible if they were not sustained and vouched for by many unimpeachable testimonies. In a laudable desire to fix his place in history he has been variously termed "The Cid of New France," "Robin Hood," the "Jean Bart of Canada," and the "Chief of the Maccabees,"

and while some of these appellations may fittingly portray his personality, none of them sufficiently connotates the dignity and intrinsic importance of his exploits.

The writer has made no effort to produce an analytical and critical biography for which neither the inclination nor the records exist, but on the other hand he has spared no pains to make the narrative as clear, continuous, and complete as the documentary evidence would permit. Original sources have been sought out and taken for the foundation as far as possible, while secondary works of authority have been utilized to furnish the background and to exhibit the fortunes of the hero in their relation to contemporaneous history. All veracious material that threw any light upon the character of Iberville or his stirring exploits has been used with the utmost freedom.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Margry's *Decouvertes et Établissements*, etc., wherein the original official reports, letters, and documents relating to Louisiana and the Mississippi expeditions have been laboriously collected and carefully summarized in the scholarly introduction. As equally important must be mentioned La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, Penicaut's *Narrative*, Baudoin's *Journal*, Father Silvy's *Relation*, the N. Y. Col. Documents, the *Jesuit Relations* of Thwaites (73 vols.), and the Histories of La Potherie and Charlevoix.

Among the secondary works Parkman is, of course, preëminent, although the writer feels and gladly acknowledges his heavy obligation to the valuable labors of Winsor, King, Laut, and Desmazures. To Thwaites also the writer is indebted for many of the explanatory footnotes which were taken from his edition of *La Hontan*. Additional works are referred to in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

Thanks for courtesies extended are due to Arthur T. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, for the copy of *Baudoin's Journal*, to Judge Prowse for permission to use the map of the Newfoundland Campaign, to Miss Callaghan, who worked on the manuscript, and to Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, Librarian of the Chicago Historical Society. To the latter organization the writer wishes particularly to express his gratitude for the privilege of copying some original maps and plates with which to illustrate the text.

Conscious that errors must exist in spite of every care, but feeling, nevertheless, that through this effort renewed attention may possibly be directed toward the life and labors of a man of strong purpose, tireless industry, and lofty soul, the book is herewith submitted.

C. B. R.

CHICAGO,

February 1, 1910.

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THE FIRST GREAT CANADIAN

*THE STORY OF PIERRE LE MOYNE,
SIEUR D'IBERVILLE*

CHAPTER I

NEW FRANCE

FROM the earliest discoveries in America, adventurers of many nationalities had vied with one another in the prodigal expenditure of time, money, and life itself, to explore the extent and exploit the resources of the wonderful New World, a world veiled in an aureole of mystery and crowned with fabulous tales.

France among the first sent her hardy sailors and daring navigators to determine the truth or falsity of the wonders reported. As their acquaintance with the New World increased, their pretensions to possession expanded until finally it was claimed by the French that the domain of New France extended from Newfoundland to the Rocky Mountains and from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. With difficulty could they admit the right of England to that little fringe on the Atlantic seaboard, a fringe which like the cloud from the jar of the genie was to increase and expand until it enveloped the con-

continent. New France therefore was an immense triangle eleven times the area of the mother country and favored by nature with a wealth and abundance as limitless as it was various and easily accessible. To the west lay the boundless forests, to the north the vast fur trade, to the east the priceless fisheries of the Grand Banks, while on the south an enchanting climate and a wonderful fertility of soil furnished in great luxuriance all the products of the Tropics.

The title of France to the possession of this magnificent realm was based with much justice on the feats of her sailors and explorers. From Verazzano (1524) and Cartier (1534) to Roberval (1542) and Champlain (1601), from discovery and exploration to colonization and exploitation, the line of descent was clear and unquestioned and supported furthermore by her settlements. The focus of her activity, the nucleus which justified as much as might be the universality of the French claim, was the group of settlements along the lower St. Lawrence. Quebec and Montreal were the points in which the fur trade of France centred and the bases from which her emissaries took their departure. Her claim to the country adjacent to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi basin excited at first only vague and sleepy objections, but when under the bold, far-seeing Frontenac, La Salle, Du Luth and others attempted to take possession of these regions and hold them with a line of forts, the English saw their commerce in furs cut off,

their Indian trade destroyed, and their position turned. Then the enemy was aroused and the claim was vigorously contested.

From those English settlements along the Atlantic which France acknowledged were held by right of possession if not by title, sturdy adventurers threaded the passes and pushed steadily across the Alleghanies to dispossess the French, an operation which in the north lasted with some intermissions for over seventy years. From Florida and Mexico, too, came ominous growls and snarling protests from the haughty old Spaniards who saw in this movement encroachments, which they were too feeble to resent, on the realm secured to Spain by the priority of De Soto and wrung by the conquering Cortez from the exhausted Incas.

Among the shifting scenes and changing figures of the New World the lines of interest were very clearly drawn. Rightfully jealous of both English and French, but particularly arrayed against the latter, in bitter memory of Champlain's attacks, was the great Iroquois * Confederacy, which for half a century kept the French settlements in dread and their allies in terror. These Indians living just south of Lake Ontario constituted a kind of buffer between the English and French colonies, and no nation could have been selected more willing or better prepared to perform that

* "Iroquois" was a title bestowed by the French; the tribesmen called themselves "People of the Long House"; while to the English they were known as the "Five Nations."

office. With an intelligence and foresight far above that of their neighbors and unique in Indian annals, these five tribes, named, respectively, the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Senecas, had formed an offensive and defensive alliance known as the Five Nations or the Iroquois Confederacy. From their advantageous location, they were within easy trading distance of the English and easy striking distance of the French.

Attracted by the personal ascendancy of the English Governors, an ascendancy which only Frontenac was able to nullify, and held by self-interest to the superior trading facilities, they formed a more or less inconstant coalition with the English to limit the power, restrict the growing settlements, and resist the encroachments of France. In this league the attitude of the English and their Dutch allies was the result not only of local jealousies and rival conditions of trade but more particularly the outgrowth of European contests, begun and continued in European interest. In the absence of such provocations, it is probable that both colonies would have lived and thrived largely in peace, except for such conflicts as grew out of the ever-alluring fur trade.

Louis XIV, through such of his Governors as he could imbue with a national rather than a personal interest, was working for the aggrandizement of France, a purpose which included also New France so far as European politics and the drain of Euro-

pean wars would permit. He was eager also for that storied wealth of the New World as a support to his exhausted treasury, but in particular he aimed to form a mailed fist which he could thrust at will into the face of England. The Canadian Noblesse, by reason of their origin and by natural sympathy, were generally found loyally supporting and zealously forwarding the designs of the King as represented by the Government at Quebec. This was not always true of that other large and influential faction composed of the Clericals and led by the Jesuits. This party was striving with every energy and all its immense influence to hold and, if possible, to increase its power. It was an effort to obtain in New France that complete religious ascendancy which was denied at home. The Jesuits also labored for an additional strength and leverage in the Huron Nation on Georgian Bay, where they were rapidly converting this offshoot of the Iroquois Stock into a Catholic dependency with French affiliations.

The colonists were the pawns which were moved and changed, swayed and divided, as their inclinations were enlisted or their force required by the union or conflict or parallelism of interests. All local issues were subordinate to European demands and policies. Both King and Cleric rejoiced in the growth of the colony along Catholic lines, and they were both instrumental in augmenting it with shiploads of approved immigrants. The numerical in-

crease was further favored by offering rewards for the encouragement of marriage and the growth of large families and by placing heavy penalties upon the celibate. Both were interested in the wide exploration and exploitation of the interior; the King because it extended his boundaries and increased his wealth; the Jesuit because it broadened and solidified his influence. The Jesuits themselves bore no small part of this burden, and their enthusiastic devotion and rigid obedience carried them, either alone or with the foraying Noblesse, through the Great Lakes, down the long river valleys, and across the pathless wilderness to remote portions of the New World which they oftentimes consecrated with their blood.

The *coureurs de bois* and especially the Noblesse, comprising such partisan leaders as Verendrye, Du Luth, Montigny, La Salle, and the Le Moynes, spent their lives in the same hazardous manner. These are conspicuous names in American history. Uninspired by religious fervor but driven by love of travel and adventure, by the demands of their fur trade and their own high courage, they kept the forests alive with intrepid wanderers. The Noblesse was composed of *seigniors*, or proprietors, who as a result of wealth, prominence, influence, or services to the State had received a grant of land and a title from the Crown. They in turn furthered the feudal idea by securing vassals to cultivate the soil, who were known as *habitants*. It is from the

ranks of the Noblesse that many of the most daring of the forest rangers, explorers, and warriors have been recruited. "On the Great Lakes, on the plains of the Northwest, on the shores of Acadia they are found tracing unknown streams, piercing the wilderness, trading, fighting, negotiating, and building forts. It was they and such as they who discovered the Rocky Mountains, the source and mouth of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri, and who founded such cities as Detroit, St. Louis, and New Orleans."*

As far as possible colonization, the establishment of depots, forts, and villages, was made to keep pace with exploration. Thus at Tadousac, Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, La Chine, and Fort Frontenac, the line extended inward along the St. Lawrence, ever deeper and yearly stronger. Hindered and poorly supported by France, beleaguered, assaulted, and sometimes overwhelmed by enemies, the establishments nevertheless took strong root and sent shoots south and east along the Richelieu River and Acadian coast toward the rival colonies in New England. The settlements themselves constituted an interesting experiment in sociology. Many groups of people living in feudal dependence were transported with all their habits, customs, ideals, beliefs, and traditions into a strange environment wherein nothing recalled their previous life except the religious belief and the social customs which they brought with them.

* Parkman.

The character of this society was thoroughly romantic and mediæval. There were knights, nobles, priests, pilgrims, nuns, and mendicant friars, each more or less on the defensive against the others and all warring against the paynim and the heretic and the robber barons of the neighboring rocky pinnacles to the south. Troubadours, knights errant, and distressed damsels were there in abundance to increase the romantic glamour. These classes dwelt under the iron rule of the King and in the leash of mediæval Catholicism, the purpose and design of both being to destroy individuality and reduce all to a common malleable type.

In retrospect it would seem that the result could not have been unexpected. The Government, which had been retaining a thick fluid substance in its feudal flask, now beheld a sieve in its hand which leaked beyond control. Always on the least suspicion of pressure, knights and nobles took to the woods, the more adventurous spirits to become *coureurs de bois*, the knights errant of the wilderness, while the others married squaws, joined the tribes, and became Indians in all but name,—true pilgrims of the forest.

The colonies, both English and French, were greatly handicapped by the control of their home Governments, both of which had approximately the same theories and ideas. The wisdom of colonization was definitely recognized and materially aided,

but the colonies were expected to develop only along such lines and by such methods as best suited the paternalism of the Fatherland, and only such measures were approved as seemed advantageous to King and Nation, and to the favorites and industries of the European base. As a consequence every industry of the new colony was the subject of most oppressive restrictions, and all commerce and trade was controlled by monopolies. This protective spirit was more seriously felt by the French than by the English colonists, since the latter to their great advantage had been left frequently to themselves, while the attention of their English Majesties was diverted by revolutions; but in France, Church and State were sympathetically united in a common and constant policy of meddlesome and oppressive interference. In obedience to authority the French colonies developed, and for the maintenance of authority the colony was controlled abroad and received its great men from the nobility of France with such perfect regularity that for over one hundred years no Canadian achieved national eminence. The only advantage of the system was that it favored military efficiency; but while this latter condition presents many desirable features as an accessory to government it is a repeatedly demonstrated failure as the sole and permanent support of the State. The Canadian population sprang in a great measure from soldiers and was born in the midst of warfare which

every son was expected to continue. Thus the more efficiency the population as a whole acquired in a military sense, the less efficient it became in the true colonial sense. The result was restriction rather than development, and involution rather than evolution.

New France was united against the English, Dutch, and Iroquois, but there were intervals in which the Clericals, the colonists, and the King's representatives, animated by self-interest or provoked by sense of duty, waged an internecine conflict. Communication with France being possible only during the Summer, the long Winters enabled the warfare between priest, intendant, and governor general to reach a stage acute enough to interest and involve the entire colony. The force of iron as represented by militarism and the sword was striving with the force clerical as represented by the priests, for rule and sway in New France; but a new force stronger than either and destined to dominate was silently instilling its subtle poison into castle and hovel, into high and low. The desire for gold that levels all ranks, shapes the future, develops commerce, promotes industry, incites to exploration, and impels to conquest, now took the form of the fur trade. The lawless *coureurs de bois*, attaching themselves first to one faction and then to another as self-interest required, ebbed and flowed through the vast channels of the forest enthralled by the romance and dangers of

the game which was the most fascinating, prevalent, and remunerative occupation in the colony. For one hundred and seventy-five years the economic interests of Canada were subordinate to the passionate pursuit of the fur trade, and it was much longer before they recovered from the effects of that imperial domination. Like every other industry this too was ruled from the beginning by monopoly and by restrictions that ill suited the bolder spirits, and increased very materially the hazards of the game which secretly or openly all were playing with the utmost concentration. With two such absorbing pursuits as war and the fur trade (or war for the fur trade) furnishing continual opportunities to the colonists, it is no wonder that agriculture was practically abandoned by this versatile and mercurial people.

Besides the conflict with neighboring colonies which fluctuated according to European policy and local necessity, war was always at the gates, through the relentless activity of the blood-thirsty Iroquois. Relying upon their splendid organization and a remarkable individual ferocity, an Iroquois war party was always in motion. In 1640 their various desultory expeditions began to crystallize into a definite purpose of exterminating their neighbors, and they then began that mad quest for scalps which ended only with complete desolation. Like insensate maniacs they threw themselves with homicidal fury against every Indian nation far or near. The very

existence of other tribes, no matter how inoffensive, was a source of anger to the Iroquois. First the Hurons, then numbering about ten thousand, went down before repeated onslaughts, and the battered fragments were driven, some to Mackinac and Lake Superior and some to Quebec, where even the shadow of that frowning rock furnished insufficient protection against the unrelenting animosity of their enemies. With that appalling disaster a blight fell upon the hopes and ambitions of the Jesuits whose success among the Hurons had inspired the belief that they could people the interior of the continent with christianized Indians true to the Faith and France, and erect a bulwark against Protestant and English aggression. After the ruin of the Hurons, the Iroquois destroyed in turn the Eries, the Tobacco Nation, the Neutrals, and the Andastes, until the great Confederacy remained alone in a peace that was a solitude. Their thirst for blood being unappeased, they now devoted an attention previously divided between the French colonists and their Indian allies, entirely to the colonists, and with such success that appeal after appeal was sent to France for help. The King finally responded, and as much to preserve the colony from extinction as to relieve it from the necessity of constant warfare, the victorious Carignan Regiment fresh from European wars under the great Turenne was sent to play its conspicuous role in the New World.

So the colony grew, and Quebec gave place to Three Rivers as the bulwark on the border, until, in 1642, Montreal was founded on the island of that name, and this became in turn the defendant of the frontier. This settlement really owes its importance, in fact all its subsequent prosperity, to the nourishing care of Maisonneuve, its founder, who spent over twenty years of his life in its service. In 1646 it had a population of less than one hundred, and in twenty years it had increased only to something less than five hundred people. At that time, however, it constituted a most advantageous post, the distant sentinel of the French, located one hundred and eighty miles toward the frontier from Quebec and in the very midst of the savages. A more beautiful situation could not have been chosen. The village was composed of little one-story houses located on streets running parallel to the water and intersected by others which ran directly to the river. It was originally placed on a slight elevation only a few yards from the shore where the mighty St. Lawrence rolled in majesty its ample flood, while on the opposite side of the island a small offshoot from the mouth of the Ottawa River guarded the settlement against surprise and made the site ideally strong for defence. Behind the village and sheltering it from the north winds were the heights of Mount Royal (Montreal) covered with trees and descending like an amphitheatre to the fertile, flower-strewn prairies at

its foot. Opposite the village lay the two islands, St. Hélène and St. Paul, which served as outposts on the river front, while the panorama was completed by the range of hills and mountains that reared a series of emerald domes across the river to the south.

Montreal was bound to Quebec by mutual ties and dangers, and though numerically feeble the settlements were strong in spirit and formed the twin heads of New France, even as Boston and New York formed the backbone of the English and Dutch colonies. These latter colonies, moreover, furnished the main antagonism to the designs of Louis XIV as conceived and interpreted by Frontenac and La Salle, and strenuously developed by that rarely capable officer whose fortunes form the substance of this narrative. Thus inspired by the jealousies, hatreds, and ambitions of European politics, these crumbled fragments of the Old World hurled into limitless space by the revolutions of that orb, still maintained their original attributes and encroached upon one another and fought and worried and ventured and lost with all their former selfishness and virulence.

What more appropriate stage setting could be devised to surround the introduction of a hero?

CHAPTER II

THE LE MOYNES

ALTHOUGH the colony was greatly hampered by the demands of its King and the exactions imposed upon its commerce, yet the most serious check to its progress came from the enmity of its neighbors on the south. The raids of the never-resting Iroquois at times brought Montreal to the verge of starvation, a condition which the shrewd traders of New England and Hudson Bay materially aided by securing an almost complete diversion of the peltries to England. The fur trade of the colony at length reached such a deplorable state that the French relied for most of their furs on the "upper nations," or the tribes consisting of the Ottawas, the Pottawattamies, Sacs, Foxes, and Sioux, who lived near the more distant of the Great Lakes or even beyond them. A change was imperative or the colony would perish, and happily a change was at hand through the activity and valor of a native son who played a strenuous part in history during that forty years which marked the transition of the feeble little settlement on the St. Lawrence to the majesty of a colony almost as large as Europe. This

man, who by his adventurous life brought new possessions to Canada and France and by his brilliant career has given an increased glory to French arms, was the very illustrious Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, Chevalier of the Orders of the King and Commander of the King's Ships. No lingering lineage with impoverished blood nor ancestry renowned in war gave rise to this Canadian chieftain, but rather the sturdy stock of an innkeeper at Dieppe, France, who sent two young scions to seek their fortunes in the New World.

Charles Le Moyne and his brother Jacques left Dieppe in 1640 to join their uncle in Canada. Charles, then fourteen years of age, first went with the Jesuit Fathers to the Huron Mission, and there he learned the country, customs, and all the Indian dialects so perfectly that he was in great demand as interpreter and guide. He adopted the Indian dress as most convenient for the trail and the chase and became an adept with paddle, snowshoe, and axe. Courageous, energetic, and cool-headed, he shrank from no enterprise and soon became a leader upon whom all in the colony relied. As his reputation spread, he was called first to Three Rivers and later (1646) to Montreal, where he finally settled and began his lifelong warfare with the Iroquois who beset the frontier village on every side. In 1665, while hunting, he was taken prisoner by a band of these Indians and dragged off for torture and death

at the stake. His family mourned him as dead when, at the end of three months, he suddenly returned. He had gained over his enemies by telling them of the many Iroquois prisoners he had befriended, besides threatening them with the vengeance of his friends. When he returned he was accompanied by a delegation of the Iroquois, who congratulated the French and felicitated themselves on the fact that he returned with no part of his body burnt nor even one of his nails pulled out. Wonderful stories are told of his battles and hairbreadth escapes in the many Indian combats in which he participated. His name appears constantly during this period in the records of the colony, either as interpreter or ambassador or as counsellor to the Governor on Indian affairs, or as leader of expeditions against the savages. So efficient and active was he that, in 1668, "in consideration of the great services which Sieur Le Moyne has rendered to this colony," the King granted to him and his heirs in entail the title of nobility as Sieur de Longueuil, with a baronial seat on a little eminence among the ancient pines through whose gaunt arms he could look across the noble St. Lawrence, shimmering in the sun, upon the growing strength and beauty of Montreal, in whose behalf his life was spent.

Charles Le Moyne had lived eight years in Montreal when in 1654 he married Catherine Thierry Primot, the belle of the settlement, who was con-

spicuous for her piety, modesty, and precocious wisdom. In course of time Le Moyne qualified to receive the pension of four hundred livres which the Government gave as an encouragement to the father of twelve or more children. Each of the eleven sons in addition to the family name received a surname at birth as a mark of distinction. Usually the child was given the name of one of the villages or landmarks in the neighborhood of Dieppe, as a memento of the country of his father's birth. Thus the eldest was called Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil (b. 1656); the second, Jacques de St. Hélène (b. 1659), from one of the islands opposite Montreal; the third, Pierre d'Iberville (b. July 20, 1661); the fourth, Paul de Maricourt (b. 1663); the fifth, François de Bienville (b. 1666); the sixth, Joseph de Serigny (b. 1668); the seventh, François Marie de Sauvole (b. 1670); the eighth, Anonyme (b. 1672); the ninth, Catherine Jeanne * (b. 1673); the tenth, Louis de Chateauguay (b. 1676); the eleventh, Marie Anne † (b. 1678); the twelfth, Jean Baptiste de Bienville (b. 1680); the thirteenth, Gabriel d'Assigny (b. 1681); the fourteenth, Antoine de Chateauguay (b. 1683). All lived to reach eminence or met a death of glory in the service of their country. St. Hélène, Bienville I, and Chateauguay I met early deaths

* Jeanne married Jacques le Ber and became the mother of the celebrated ascetic Jeanne le Ber.

† Marie Anne married Pierre Mareau, Sieur de Chassigne, Governor of Montreal and later of Three Rivers.

while fighting for the colony and the Crown. Maricourt, after many important and hazardous services to the Government, died from exposure in one of the Iroquois campaigns. Serigny attained high rank in the French navy and died Governor of Rochefort. Antoine de Chateauguay II was long associated with Bienville in Louisiana and later became Governor of Cayenne. Bienville II was Governor and the bright particular star of Louisiana for thirty-five years. Charles Le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil, the eldest son, became the Governor of Canada, as did his son after him. Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, was the third and most interesting member of this remarkable family. From boyhood he was distinguished for his energetic and hardy spirit and his extraordinary force of character. As the children grew up, the family feeling became very strong, but all recognized and bowed to the qualities of leadership which Pierre possessed, for he early showed his restless and monarchical disposition. He was a proud, high-spirited, impulsive, and generous lad, intensely loyal and patriotic, and excelled in sports and games of all kinds. He was resolute and ready to espouse a cause, and having accepted an issue, he, far more than his brothers, was willing, nay, eager, to pursue it to the bitter end. In his fortitude, endurance, courage, and quick intelligence lay the claims to leadership which all accepted. Thus in warm emulation but definitely under his

guidance, they hunted in pairs, and one or more of the brothers in an associated or subordinate capacity are usually found in every expedition made by Iberville. "Le Moyne" soon became a word to conjure with, and the brotherhood has been named the "Canadian Maccabees."

Instead of toys and the puerile pastimes of the nursery the young lads had the steep rocks, the straight pines, the gnarled cedars, and the wild game of the mountains as playthings. As they grew older, they took up the sports most common and necessary to all frontier settlements, and spent their time largely in fishing, canoeing, hunting, and snowshoeing, which gave them splendid physical development, together with resolution, self-reliance, and great initiative. At the same time their life on the edge of the wilderness stamped them indelibly with a hatred of the rival English and Dutch colonies and an ineffaceable bitterness toward the Iroquois. Born into and environed by the Canadian Noblesse who held war to be the only vocation of a gentleman, they saw their neighbors and their doughty father go and come from Indian forays, they heard their tales of adventure and personal prowess, while the skill and distinction of their father fired their spirits with pride and emulation. His capture by the Iroquois and narrow escape from the stake seemed only a part of the day's work, though, to be sure, had his offer been accepted to go on the Dollard expedition

which took place the year previous to the birth of Iberville, his inevitable loss would have been a deep and lasting misfortune to New France. Various incidents in that spectacular period combined to influence the unfolding character of young Iberville.

New France itself was passing through a stirring period of change and stress. Terminating its career as a missionary field, the King about the time of Iberville's birth had taken over the country and erected it into a colony, a change that could not occur without disturbance. In addition there were the quarrels between the Government and the Clergy, between the different branches of the Government service, between the different clerical orders, and between all these and the English and Iroquois. Then too there was the fur trade, always a prolific source of trouble. In consequence the atmosphere of Iberville's boyhood was electrically charged with personal feeling and antagonism. All these conditions produced definite effects upon Iberville, but the one event that made the earliest and most permanent impression on his growing mind was the arrival of the Carignan Regiment, with which he felt an instinctive congeniality. Six hundred strong they were, these veterans of European wars, when, with the gallant De Tracy, they landed in 1666 on the way to punish the ever-aggressive Iroquois. Drawn from the French nobility, from the very *élite* of those knightly families who had consecrated their children

to a military life, they made a brave appearance as, with drums beating and colors flying, they marched with steady stride through the streets of the little frontier village of Montreal. The richly dressed officers especially fascinated the little lad, who watched the parade with beating heart, swelling breast, and intense eyes. Then and there his Norman ancestry blazed up with an inspiration to serve the King. He soon realized that discipline and scholarship were the first steps to distinction, and as soon as possible Iberville and other young Le Moynes entered Abbé Queylus' Sulpician Seminary, eager to squeeze dry the educational sponge. This school was modelled after those in France, and the boys received a very good foundation in such essentials as Latin, logic, rhetoric, and literature, and in religious instruction — which was regarded as far more important. Iberville's instinctive antagonism to the English was also intensified at school, not on the ground that they were rivals in the New World — which he could see even so young, nor yet on the ground that they incited the Iroquois against Canada — as he fully believed, but rather because they were heretics, a charge that meant much in those days of rigorous orthodoxy. So the brothers spent their early years until, at the age of twelve, young Iberville was ready to go to his first communion. It was an interesting group of boys who gathered before the little chapel on that pleasant Sunday morning in June,

1673. There were his older brothers, Charles and St. Hélène, and his younger brother Maricourt, and with them Gabriel Montigny, Manthet, and Jean Barrett, all to become known later as writers, soldiers, explorers, sailors, and *coureurs de bois*. They were clad in coats of that peculiar blue which distinguished the residents of Montreal, just as white was peculiar to Three Rivers and red to Quebec. Blue leggings with knitted garters ended in deer hide moccasins tied in Iroquois fashion, with the insteps embroidered with stained porcupine quills. Beaver skin caps covered their heads, and broad belts of vivid colors embroidered with beads drew in the coats at the waist.

Just now they were eagerly discussing the approaching visit of Frontenac,* on his way to meet the Indian tribes at Catarauqui,† for council and treaty. This was an important juncture in the history of the colony, for with the arrival of Governor

* Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac (b. 1620), had from his fifteenth year seen service in the French armies and was also an accomplished courtier. He was made Lieutenant-General of New France in 1672. While the most able of the governors, his imperious disposition and autocratic temper involved him in many disputes. The opposition became so great that he was recalled in 1682. Seven years later, the peril of the colony was such that Frontenac was summoned again to defend it. This he did vigorously. His expedition of 1696 crushed the Iroquois and thereby saved Canada to the French.

† Courcelle had recommended the site of Catarauqui (Fort Frontenac) on his expedition of 1671, while Frontenac, acting upon the suggestion, advanced up the St. Lawrence in 1673 and built the stockade on the site of the present city of Kingston, Ontario. Two years later, La Salle, strongly endorsed by Frontenac, obtained from the King a grant of the fort and district as a seigniory.

Frontenac began the exploration of the St. Lawrence Valley and the interior and the leaguings of the Indians to France. It was expected that Frontenac would stop a week or more in Montreal, and undoubtedly some of the settlers would be invited to accompany him. Already they had seen and talked with his lieutenant, La Salle, then a young man about thirty years of age, and in spite of his grim reserve they had heard of his adventures during his recent trip to the interior, while his story of the discovery of the Ohio had thrilled and inspired them all. He was now arranging for Frontenac's official reception in the village and securing supplies and men for his expedition. This was an excursion which each of the boys inwardly longed to take, but none more than Iberville, burning with ambition and love of adventure from his infancy. In the muster of Canadians on the arrival of Frontenac (June 20, 1673) Le Moyne, the specialist in Indian management, was among the first to be invited, not only because of his ability as interpreter but because of his prominence among the Noblesse. With him too went the more enterprising of the youth, St. Hélène, Iberville, Manthet, and Montigny. It was a highly educational adventure to the young men, and doubtless the greedy eyes and ears of Iberville took in much of supreme importance to his later career. He saw Frontenac make his imposing arrival at Cata-raqui, he witnessed the effect on the Indian depu-

ties of his martial display and of the dramatic speech which his father interpreted, and he learned those lessons in Indian management in which he subsequently became so expert. He watched the building of the fort and saw the submission of the haughty Iroquois, a submission which lasted only until they had swept their Indian neighbors out of their way and were ready to move against the French to secure for themselves and their English and Dutch friends a monopoly of the fur trade.

The new establishment was named Fort Frontenac and was destined in a couple of years to be the base whence the redoubtable Governor and his energetic lieutenant La Salle launched upon the Mississippi Valley their extensive designs of exploration and trade. Having brilliantly concluded this affair, Frontenac and the entire expedition returned. The Le Moyne boys had been deeply impressed by the character and presence of Frontenac, and ever after maintained with but few interruptions a relationship which was highly advantageous to both sides. The effect of this journey was seen almost immediately in an event which was the turning point in their lives. They had not only secured a large insight into government methods, but in addition their far-sighted father seized his period of close association with the new Governor to push an idea he had long considered, of putting some of his boys in the Royal Navy. The suit was successful, and upon their return to

Montreal it was decided that St. Hélène, Iberville, and Maricourt should be recommended by Frontenac for appointment as midshipmen. Their success was the more probable since Colbert at this time was attempting to put the navy on a grand footing. Vessels were building; recruiting and training stations were developing in the fortified ports of Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, and Dieppe, and government influence was exerted to make naval science attractive to the young men of noble families.

Iberville, enthusiastic and restless, had already made many long trips on the St. Lawrence River and Gulf in a boat belonging to his father, and knew the water more thoroughly than many old navigators. In anticipation of his career he now made longer excursions and studied the sea more attentively. After some delay the appointments were made as desired, and the boys left the following year to learn their duties as naval officers. They were drilled for four or five years in all the naval science of the age, and excelled especially in mathematics, hydrography, artillery, and seamanship, which they found very congenial. Their education was then continued on the King's ships under such men as d'Estrées, Tourville, and Jean Bart, and since this was the period of the great sea battles with the English and Dutch they had full experience in actual warfare. During his apprenticeship also his duty brought Iberville many times to Quebec when his frigate acted as con-

voy for merchantmen, and it is certain that upon arrival he ran down to Montreal, so that his long absence in no way impaired the unison of family feeling and effort.

By 1683 he had completed his course and returned to Canada, whence he was sent to France by La Barre * with despatches for the King and bearing also the Governor's recommendation for his appointment as Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. Failing to receive his commission, he returned the following Spring to Montreal. He was now twenty-three years of age, and an object of pride and joy to his father, who at this time was still active and energetic and advancing in honor and consideration in the colony. On two occasions they made long journeys together into the wilderness, and Iberville perfected his knowledge of woodcraft and Indian character. There is no record to show that it was he who accompanied his father † on that difficult but highly successful embassy to the Iroquois in 1684, when Le Moyne brought back, in spite of the English opposition, the fourteen chiefs for council with Governor La Barre, but the event was doubtless impressed on his mind as a direct

* Le Fèvre de la Barre was appointed Governor of New France in 1682 to supersede Frontenac. In early life he had been a lawyer and government official in France. At the time of his appointment he was an officer of experience, having seen service in the West Indies, been Governor of Cayenne (1664-66), and after defeating an English fleet, recovered Antigua, Montserrat, and Nevis for the French.

† Charlevoix says, "two of his sons who accompanied Sieur Le Moyne to Onondaga, reported the expedition to La Barre."

result of *finesse* and determination. In 1685, shortly after this great personal triumph, Charles Le Moyne died at the age of sixty years, causing the first break in that redoubtable family group which was destined to extend with increasing activity until the name Le Moyne should traverse the continent from the Bay of Hudson to the Gulf of Mexico. Charles Le Moyne was dead, but his soul lived on, and the power of his single arm was magically multiplied in those splendid, daring sons whom he bequeathed to the support of Canada, the aggrandizement of France, and to the pride and glory of both.

America was an apple worthily chosen for discord. Over this expansive territory of thrice the area and wealth of their kingdoms, strove for dominance three great kings. Their battalions met on the silent shores of three desolate gulfs, thousands of miles apart and yet indissolubly related by the union at Newfoundland of the three great ocean currents which there swept together in majestic implication from the remote inland seas which gave them birth. On the ample bosoms of those separate seas rode the contending navies, and throughout the length and breadth of three great river valleys of North America the bitter partisans of the rival nations battled not alone for supremacy but for sole possession — a supremacy that was not to remain unchallenged and a possession that was not to pass unquestioned until the lapse of three long centuries. Menendez secured

a doubtful eminence through the conquest of Florida and the wanton butchery of his helpless French captives; Montcalm and Wolfe earned immortality on the lofty Plains of Abraham; but upon Le Moyne d'Iberville rests the unique distinction that he courted renown and carried to victory the banners of France upon each of the widely separate waters of Hudson Bay, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Gulf of Mexico.

CHAPTER III

EXPEDITION TO HUDSON BAY

TOWARD the end of 1685 the eagerly expected opportunity knocked at the door of the young Le Moynes. La Barre in turn had been recalled, and the energetic Seignelay * had ordered his successor, Denonville, † to take active measures to decide the long-disputed ownership of that northern country occupied at this time by England. The great territory which includes Labrador and the region adjacent to Hudson Bay was highly important, not alone on account of its strategic position in the midst of numerous tribes, but more particularly as the centre of the fur trade.

In 1610 Henry Hudson in search of the illusive northwest passage discovered that great Bay which in the following year received his life and name, — at once his sepulchre and epitaph, a mighty tribute to

* Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, eldest son of the great Colbert, succeeded his father (1683) as Minister of the Marine, which office he administered until his death in 1690. The colonies were controlled by this department of the French administration.

† Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, had served in the French armies for thirty years. He was a zealous officer, but unequal to the difficulties he was called upon to meet in Canada. He was recalled in 1689.

his dauntless soul. For sixty years thereafter that huge inland sea, eight hundred miles wide by a thousand miles long, lay locked in the ice and the sombre Arctic seclusion, in a silence as deep as when it first arose from chaos. On the east lies the corrugated Labrador, her distorted mountains seamed and rived to pass great rivers to sea or bay; on the south are found the illimitable forests and wintry lakes, and all has been tossed together in a wavelike form as if the ocean had been suddenly petrified while at the very summit of titanesque performance. This expansive wilderness was the home of wild beasts and Indians whose presence in no way diminished the terrors of that grim solitude. The sea itself was a dreary waste. For a few brief weeks the whale and walrus found a welcome retreat in its icy waters, then the frost closed in and the white bear roamed in lonely state upon its frozen deeps, while solitary birds winged their way with harsh discordant cries over its bleak, snow-buried desolation.

Threading the pathless wilderness on the south came Radisson, the pioneer, and later at his solicitation came the "Company of English adventurers" to trade upon the Bay. The English, acting under the broad charter rights granted by Charles II in 1670, had immediately established trading posts which kept the current of skins flowing quite steadily toward England. The abundant success of the Hudson's Bay Company for the next fifteen years tempted the

alert and avaricious fur traders of New France to try for a foothold on the Bay. In opposition to the "Great Company," an association of Quebec merchants was formed under the name of the "Compagnie du Nord," and government aid demanded. The particular act which inflamed the Canadians at this time and stimulated them to call the attention of the home Government to Hudson Bay was the treachery of Radisson, who though supposedly French betrayed his post and an entire shipload of furs to the English.

France and Great Britain were officially at peace, so that there was no excuse for aggression beyond the fact that England had possession of something which France wanted. Louis XIV doubtless felt that inasmuch as he was sending annually large sums of money to James II, as subsidies, in accordance with their secret agreement, James would not seriously oppose any steps he might take to make his claims legal, and as it looked safe he had finally resolved to assume the right and take possession of the disputed territory. Basing his claim on what was probably a fact, though unimportant, that an establishment had been made by the two Frenchmen, Radisson and Groseilliers, at the mouth of the Hayes River before any English settlement had been attempted at that place, the King doubtless felt justified, although the English had erected a trading station at Rupert River as early as 1668-69. Whether

justified or not, it is improbable that the King would idly watch the location of English settlements on the Bay, for, besides the very pressing danger to his own colony on the St. Lawrence from the English both north and south, the fur traders at Quebec and Montreal keenly felt the effects of the English competition. To attack the English forts on Hudson Bay therefore according to Seignelay's instructions, Denonville assembled at Montreal a troop of one hundred men, comprising thirty soldiers and seventy Canadians together with a number of Indians, all under the command of the sagacious De Troyes, an officer of the celebrated Carignan Regiment. Volunteering with the troop but without official status unless, as seems probable, they represented the "Compagnie du Nord," went the three Le Moyne boys, St. Hélène, Iberville, and Maricourt.

They volunteered as guides, interpreters, and scouts, but through experience, hardihood, and ability they quickly assumed the leadership.

Iberville was now starting on that career of adventure, warfare, and exploration which was not to end until his restless, intrepid spirit had left his body. At this time he was in the full bloom of his young manhood. His frame was large, his waist trim, his bearing erect and soldierly. His active life as bush-ranger and seaman had given him a superb physique, with muscles of steel and the springy catlike tread of an athlete. His fine shoulders were surmounted

by a well-shaped head, which had as its most conspicuous ornament a profusion of curling yellow hair, which he habitually wore long after the manner of the times. His features were refined though large. A brow, broad and open, rested above his blue penetrating eyes, which under excitement sparkled like gems. An aquiline nose and finely chiselled mouth agreeably softened the firmness of his square-set jaw. His skin was clear, his manner easy and conciliatory, and his whole person glowed with resolution and self-confidence. "As military as his sword," said a director of the Hudson's Bay Company who had good reasons for his respect; "Born canoeist and hardened to the water like a fish," said Frontenac; "A young man who knows what he knows," said Denonville. His character was fully as pleasing as his physique, and from his youth up he showed that obliging and generous disposition which made him the ideal leader and beloved comrade of his men. From now on the scanty annals of that period are lifted above the commonplace by the successive appearances of the Le Moynes as each in turn steps forward to consecrate his life, trained and developed in local Indian forays, to the service of France.

Iberville and his brothers felt that the success of this present undertaking would depend largely on the secrecy and swiftness of the blow, and this required that the line of march should be as unknown to the enemy as the raid was unexpected.

There are three canoe routes from the St. Lawrence to Hudson Bay, one of which must be followed for ease of travel, although the expedition was to start on snowshoes. The first, leaving the St. Lawrence at Tadousac, ascends the Saguenay River to Lake St. John and thence to Lake Mistassini, from which the course follows a branch of Rupert River to the Bay. The second starts from Three Rivers and ascends the St. Maurice, there to take any one of numerous rivers which also lead to the Bay. The better to avoid giving warning to the English and to evade the ever watchful eyes of the wandering Iroquois, the Le Moynes chose the third route, which ascends the Ottawa River west of Montreal.

The departure was fixed for March 20, 1686. Spring had scarcely begun, but it was considered important to arrive before the annual supply ships could reach the forts from England with reinforcements and remove the peltries. The troop was well equipped with provisions, clothing, and munitions for several months. Every manual necessity was provided for in making up the company, wherein might be found carpenters, sailors, miners, and cannoneers, together with loyal Indians from the Montagne and La Chine Missions, all excellent fighters and wood-rangers, especially chosen for their activity and endurance.

Having heard mass, they stepped bravely through the eager throng of relatives and friends who clus-

tered at the shore to look long and anxiously after them as they ascended the frozen channel of the river. They moved rapidly up the snow-padded silences of the Ottawa, past Rideau and Chaudiere Falls, where stands the present city of Ottawa; past their last outpost at Little Nation, where salutes were exchanged; past Cat Lake and Mille Lacs, to the Mattawa River; up the Mattawa to the cliff-margined waters of Lake Temiscaming, where they received a warm welcome from friendly tribes. They were travelling as lightly as possible, without canoes or tents, carrying blankets and provisions on their backs or dragging them on toboggans and sleeping at night in the snow; nevertheless all went smoothly until they crossed over into a branch of the Abittibi River and thence to Abittibi Lake, where their difficulties began. At this point it was necessary to remain until canoes could be built, for now they expected to be free from the ice and snow and to course down the Abittibi and Moose Rivers on the crest of the spring floods. Here they built a small fort and leaving three Canadians in charge, as soon as the canoes were finished, they crossed the lake and started, — “a troop of daredevil bushrangers sweeping down the forested waterways of the North.” Often the river was frozen for long distances or else they fought the floating ice cakes in the swift current. At one time barefooted, they tracked the laden canoes for twelve miles amidst the downrushing icy water which swept swirling and



CANADIAN ON SNOWSHOES PREPARED FOR A WINTER
CAMPAIGN

(From *La Potherie*)

roaring to the sea. They cut the ice with their hatchets or portaged over the giant dams of massed cakes. Iberville and four of his men were caught by the current in the fierce rapids and swept against a rock, where the canoe upset and two were lost. Only by his great strength and cool-headedness did Iberville succeed in saving himself and two of his companions.

Since the obstacles increased as they advanced north, the troop moved more and more slowly, until Iberville feared they would not reach the Bay in time. The aspect of the country was austere and harsh. The Jesuit Silvy,* chaplain and historian of the expedition, says : " We have passed through forests capable of frightening the most assured traveller, be it by their great extent or be it by the roughness of the rude and dangerous paths. Upon land one can only travel on the precipices, while on the water one can only cross abysses where in a frail bark canoe one fights for life amid whirlpools capable of swallowing great ships."

Still advancing, there seemed to be no limit to the vast forests ; as far as the eye could see it met nothing but valleys and mountains covered by that ex-

* Antoine Silvy, born Oct. 16, 1638, had come to Canada in 1673. At the Ottawa Missions he had spent four years, but this was his second trip to the Bay, the first being undertaken in 1679 with Jolliet. They then made the trip by way of Tadousac and Rupert River (Gagnon's Jolliet). After this expedition with Iberville he remained at the Bay until 1693.

traordinary and abundant growth. As day succeeded day with no change in the scenery, no break in the succession of venerable trees, the *voyageurs* would exclaim, "All Canada is only a vast forest." The density of the interlacing branches was so great that the march was made for leagues under the continuous dome of pine, fir, and hemlock through which the sky could be seen only at long intervals. At times they met banks covered with vegetation, the branches bending to the water, the rocks covered with roots exposed and inextricably entangled. Again they climbed a mountain whose southern exposure was bare of snow and showing signs of spring vegetation, while upon the opposite side they passed under trees still covered with a blanket of white and with branches that scintillated with reflections from snow crystals and icicles. The chutes at the extremity of a lake or in the course of the river shimmered and sparkled in the sunlight with the splendor of silver, and the water descended over granite stairways resplendent with ice. Either lake or river might at times be interrupted by a gigantic barrier of rocks apparently impassable, but after many devious turns and many a *cul de sac*, an opening would appear and another body of unimpeded water lay before them.

Besides the ordinary difficulties of such a journey, they were further delayed by the sudden appearance of dense fogs so impenetrable that progress was impossible; or a sudden rise in temperature produced

a thaw so complete that the portages became bottomless quagmires over which it was impossible to transport the baggage and canoes.

Night, too, had its charms and dangers. The moon shone with but a feeble glow surrounded by rings and strange accessory lights, while the farther north they marched the stronger and more frequent became the appearance of the elusive aurora, its tremulous rays flashing and disappearing with mocking evanescence. At other times an abundant rain in the night would turn to sleet, which converted the trees and twigs into crystal columns and sprays of jewels. The underbrush was decorated with diamonds and the rocks encircled with glittering garlands. Every cliff and crag and jagged peak had its crown of snow and every glen and gorge its drifted shroud. All was very wonderful and fairylike, but this wizardry of the forest had also its dangers. Under the excessive weight the boughs would break with thundering noise, and the travellers stepped with wary feet lest a sudden jar might dislodge the huge masses that hung trembling and menacing, beautiful but deadly, just over their heads. When the work of the sleet was ended, the trails were obstructed by uprooted trees and branches broken into so many fragments that passage was wellnigh impossible.

Father Silvy says that the Le Moyne boys became invaluable to the expedition under these difficulties, and on account of their unusual woodmanship and

expertness as canoeists, they guided the men through the forests and upon the waters, they chose the portages and the camp sites, and kept up the spirits of the band by their constant enthusiasm. Such a trip indeed was a source of continual delight to the hardy Iberville, who surpassed his brothers in size as well as in mental force. No hardship or danger depressed his spirits or affected his courage; a call to eat or the menace of death was received in the same spirit of invariable good nature. Within himself was such a love for adventure, such resolution and self-reliance, that nothing daunted him. Norman as he was, he seemed to revert to that ancestry which had produced the champions of Sicily, the heroes of the Crusades, and the conquerors of England. He revelled in the hardships of a winter campaign; the greater the obstacle, the more serious the danger, so much the more buoyantly did his spirit rise to meet and conquer.

Finally the channel of the river broadened and the canoes swept rapidly forward. The portages became less frequent, less rocky, but more unpleasant. Their way led them through vast "muskegs" and juniper swamps, all crusted with snow which yielded under them, so that they marched in snow and icy water mingled with long and tangled grass growing from soft mud. Then from a slight elevation they beheld an immensity of water reflecting the dull tones of a steel-gray sky, and extending infinitely onward to where the water merged with the sky

line in the chill misty distance. It was Hudson Bay—it was also June 18, 1686. In three months the hardy *voyageurs* had covered six hundred miles of new trail, through a most rugged part of Canada, by snowshoe and canoe in midwinter, with no incentive but the love of adventure for its own sake and hatred of the English who disturbed their commercial future, and no prospect of pay except such as they might secure from the loot of the forts on the Bay.

Here the English had erected five posts for the convenience of their Indian trade. Moose Factory at the mouth of the Moose River at the southern end was known as Fort Monsipi (or Monsoni) by the Indians, and Fort St. Louis by the French. East of Moose Factory about forty leagues sat Fort Rupert at the mouth of the river of that name, and about the same distance west was Fort Kitchichouane, later known as Fort Albany, and called Fort St. Anne by the French. Higher on the western side of the Bay was the unimportant post of New Savanne, or Severn, called by the French Fort St. Thérèse, and finally thirty leagues north of the latter lay Fort Nelson, later called Fort York, the strongest and best of them all, well located near the mouth of Nelson River. This post was known to the French as Fort Bourbon. It was close by this that Radisson and Groseilliers had established their early station upon which the only French claim could be based.

These five little specks on the margin of that dreary expanse of sea represented the first feeble attempts of the English to reach out a hand — commercial and self-interested, to be sure, but nevertheless a human hand — to the savage inhabitants of the Northern wilderness. The greed of gold lured the Spaniards to Peru and Mexico, where it is said they destroyed a civilization more developed than their own. The lure of the fur trade was the means, and a gradual improvement in conditions the inevitable result, of those blind groping fags of Fate on Hudson Bay. They were equally covetous, but in the case of the English avarice was tempered with justice and disciplined by the many revolutions necessary to obtain it, while the Spanish were highwaymen pure and simple. Where the fur trade invited the English, a rude, deformed, but definite civilization made its compulsory appearance and permanently improved the barbarian tribes, and in this respect the attacks of the French in no iota disturbed the action of those mighty balances in which the destinies of nations are weighed.

In silent ambushade the restless French lay hidden that long June afternoon, awaiting the fall of night and licking their chops, like the gaunt old timber wolves that they were, as they watched with greedy eyes the thin column of smoke rising from Moose Factory (Fort Monsipi), the only apparent sign of life. White, lonely, and isolated, the post harmo-

nized well with the lonely forest and still more desolate Bay. The garrison sheltered from the rigors of the climate had no warning of attack, and they waited only the spring ships as the first intrusion upon their icy retreat. No guards were placed, no watchmen in the towers, neither patrols nor sentinels.

The fort was situated on a slight elevation a few yards from the water, and consisted of a square of palisades measuring one hundred feet on each face and eighteen feet high, with bastions at each corner. These in turn were covered with strong planks and furnished within with platforms for the riflemen and cannon. Within the palisaded enclosure was a redoubt about thirty feet high, built in terraces of logs, and upon its top was a parapet with embrasures for the big guns. This redoubt was the residence of the garrison and the real citadel of the fort.

With the approach of night Iberville and St. Hélène stealthily inspected the post. No hoot of owl from distant thicket, no cry of loon from the lonely shore, disturbed the deep silence. No sign of human life appeared; the stockade was as quiet as the grave. The tompions were in the great guns, the cannon were not loaded. The scouts faded back into the shadows of the forest. The plan of attack was then arranged. Leaving under guard all the canoes but two, these, laden with planks, mattocks,

and a battering ram, dropped silently down the river to meet De Troyes, who, over a road sheltered by rocks and trees, marched with moccasined feet to the gate. Iberville and St. Hélène with twenty men, and Sergeant Catalogne with twenty more, were each to cut through the palisades at feasible points, while De Troyes and Maricourt assailed the gate with the battering ram. Using the planks as platforms, Iberville scaled the palisades with his men and was the first to arrive in the enclosure. Hastening to the great gate, he threw the bar and let in De Troyes, then all returned to the redoubt to meet Sergeant Catalogne, whose party was now firing through the windows. At the first shot the Canadians with high shrill voices gave the dreaded war-cry of the Iroquois, "Sassa Kouès, Sassa Kouès." It was a complete surprise. The English, awakened by the tumult and thinking the Iroquois were upon them, hastened to the defence in their shirts and with such weapons as they could pick up.

The battering ram was brought up and delivered great blows on the gate of the redoubt, which at length partially opened, and Iberville, impulsive and daring, eagerly hurled himself inside. The English got the gate closed again, while the fearless Frenchman, trapped and cornered, fought coolly with his sword.* Again the gate burst in and with it more

* This incident, given on the authority of La Potherie, is called apocryphal by Parkman, but it accords so well with what we know of Iberville that it seems best to include it.

French. The situation now began to dawn upon the English, and, recognizing the futility of resistance, the garrison surrendered. In the fort were fifteen men, twelve cannon, three thousand pounds of powder, and one thousand pounds of lead. The French promptly began to utilize their prize by melting the lead into bullets.

“The assailants were much vexed,” says Father Silvy, “to learn from the prisoners that the Commander, Governor Bridgar, had left on the preceding evening with fifteen men on a vessel for Fort Rupert.” As this vessel was absolutely necessary to transport the cannon that were needed in the attack on Fort Kitchichouane, it was decided to pursue and capture the vessel and Fort Rupert at the same time. Iberville took the longboat and two pieces of cannon from the fort, and the rest followed by canoe. Cutting across a tongue of land, they opened up a trail used even to this day, and covered the forty leagues in five days.

When they arrived near Fort Rupert, St. Hélène was detailed to take observations. He reported a fort similar in all respects to Fort Monsipi except that the redoubt was in one corner of the enclosure and had, alas! a ladder outside for use in case of fire. All was arranged accordingly. De Troyes detailed Iberville and Maricourt in two canoes with twelve men to take the ship, while he himself assaulted the fort.

Night came on, and the canoes stole down on the vessel. Iberville silently climbed the side, and before the sentinel awakened to his danger he was killed. The crew, aroused by stamping on the deck, became an easy prey as one by one they climbed the hatchway, until the alarm was taken and the survivors fell back. Then the French descended and broke open the cabin with axes. Quarter was asked and given, and the French took command. A small sloop anchored near by was also seized. Fearing he might miss some portion of the adventure, Iberville now left a guard on the ship and hurried shoreward to assist in taking the fort. Meanwhile De Troyes had forced the outer gate with a tree as a battering ram, a man climbed the ladder on the side of the redoubt, and dropped hand grenades through holes cut in the roof and down the chimney. The consternation was general, and the French entered the palisaded enclosure sword in hand. The last hope of holding out disappeared, and after a further slight resistance the English surrendered.

During the attack a woman in confusion and excitement ran into the room in which a grenade had just been dropped, and in spite of warning was seriously injured by the explosion before she could escape. Iberville and Father Silvy put her to bed, called the surgeon, and locked the door to keep out intruders. Ever ruthless in the execution of his orders, Iberville had not yet reached the point, as

he did four years later at Schenectady, where he could stand passively by and see women and children tortured and killed.

They remained four days at this post, loading the ship with supplies and furs and mounting on it the cannon for the attack on Albany. Leaving the longboat for Iberville, who was to stay and partially dismantle the fort, the redoubt only being saved, De Troyes took the captured stores and prisoners back to Moose Factory on the ship. As soon as Iberville rejoined the expedition, De Troyes was ready to advance on Albany (Fort Kitchichouane). The prisoners were left on the eastern side of Moose River under guard. As many of the French as possible were crowded on the ship, the rest were provided with canoes, and the expedition started. As usual, Iberville and St. Hélène with the Indians led in the canoes, and De Troyes with the French followed in the ship, upon which the cannon were loaded. The sun was just going down as they started, and although the way was unknown and even the location of the fort uncertain, they thought to save time, as well as to deceive the English into the belief that their friends were coming, by steering diagonally across the Bay instead of taking the safer route near the shore. They were well started when one of those wild north gales swept down from the Upper Bay and made battering rams of the floating ice cakes. With the gale came a thick mist, and the

birch canoes were untenable. Dangerous enough in heavy seas, in heavy seas plus floating ice it was destruction. Some made for the mainland, but the *Le Moynes* kept on until a boiling sea of floes thrust in between the canoes and compelled them to camp on the shifting ice. While the *voyageurs* held the canoes high above their heads for safety, they also clung hand to hand, so that when one dropped through the moving ice the rest could pull him out.* As soon as daylight brightened somewhat the thick mist, Iberville hastened on. Keeping his guns firing to guide the other canoes, he pushed across the traverse, portaging where there was ice or where the ebbing tide left sand banks, and paddling wherever it was possible. Reaching a point near the western shore, he sought in vain for sign of fort or river mouth, since no one could say whether the land in view was north or south of the fort. This caused considerable delay, but while discussing the situation the sound of guns was heard, and turning toward the sound Iberville at last joined *De Troyes* at the mouth of the *Kitchichouane* River before *Fort Albany*. The journey had taken five days, and the garrison had been put upon its guard by Indian runners.

St. Hélène was again detailed to reconnoitre, and reported a fort similar to the others but a little larger and better armed. Conscious that his ap-

* Laut, "The Conquest of the Great Northwest."

proach was known, De Troyes tried negotiation. It had been known at Montreal that a French spy named Père had been captured and for a while imprisoned at Fort Albany, and De Troyes now demanded that he be given up else he would attack the fort. Governor Sargeant replied that the Frenchman long since had been sent to France, and declared that De Troyes had no right to attack the fort since the nations were at peace. However, De Troyes did not intend to be deprived of his prey because his excuse failed him. He landed his men and planted his battery of ten cannon on the opposite side of the river masked among the bushes, then, with a true French instinct for the dramatic, he waited quietly until night, when with his glass he could see the Governor retiring to his chamber with his family. Choosing this glad, auspicious moment, he opened fire and sent a roaring volley from all the guns straight at the Governor's chamber. The firing was continued for an hour and a half, in which time the besiegers had delivered over one hundred and fifty shots. Meanwhile the cannon fire had stirred up the utmost confusion in the fort. The garrison, already mutinous, flew hither and thither in great disorder. Some took refuge in the cellar, and others insisted that Governor Sargeant should surrender. In the midst of the tumult an under officer announced that the powder had given out. This was the last straw. The Governor, be-

trayed within and besieged without, sent over a flag of truce, and upon invitation De Troyes returned with it to the fort. After the healths of the two Kings had been politely drunk, the fort was given up.*

This was the principal depot on the Bay, and large quantities of provisions, trading stores, and another ship fell into the hands of the French together with fifty thousand peltries. This victory made the French masters of the southern part of the Bay. Leaving Iberville to patrol the coast, De Troyes returned overland in August to Montreal.† By virtue of his commission from Denonville, Iberville remained as Commander of all the forts on the Bay. He first disposed of his prisoners by sending them to France in one of the captured ships. During the late Summer of 1686 he captured a large English sloop, *The Young*, which was on its way to Fort Rupert.

The ardent leader inspired every man in his little troop with his own ceaseless vigilance and enthusiastic courage, as the following incident shows. In September Iberville was at Moose Factory when he learned that an English vessel, the *Churchill*, was caught in the ice at Charlton Island and would be compelled to winter there. Five scouts were sent to

* Governor Sargeant was severely censured by the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company for his weakness in yielding on this occasion, but, apparently, he had no choice in the matter.

† The supply of provisions gave out and the troop was disbanded. They returned to Montreal as best they could, but the disorder was so great that the last one arrived a full month after the first.

investigate, but two became ill and returned, while the other three went on, only to be captured and put in irons aboard the *Churchill*. The Winter passed without action by French or English, but in the early Spring an effort was made to get the ship out of the ice. Being short-handed, one of the prisoners was brought up to aid the work. About the same time the Captain went out hunting in a birch canoe and was drowned. One day when six of the crew were in the rigging, some on shore and only two on deck, the Canadian killed one with an axe, released and armed his comrades, and forced the crew to surrender. Taking possession of the arms, he kept the English at bay and steered toward Fort Rupert. A sail hove in sight, and at first he feared an enemy, but no; Iberville, suspecting trouble from the long absence of his scouts, had seized the first moment of open water and was hurrying over sea to rescue or revenge them. The Canadians turned over the ship to Iberville, and the rich cargo of provisions and merchandise saved the French from great suffering during the next Winter.

Having settled affairs on the Bay, Iberville sailed for Quebec with a shipload of furs late in the season of 1687. He left the command to his brother Maricourt, whom from his incessant activity the Indians had called "the little bird that is always in motion," *

* Charles Le Moyne had been adopted by the Iroquois, and after his death that nation adopted in his place his two sons, Charles de Longueuil and Maricourt.

a name that might be as justly applied to any one of that never resting family.

Meanwhile the "Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay" sent to King James a humble "petition" for redress, which stated that "the French of Canada, this year, have in a piratical manner taken and totally despoiled the Petitioners of three of their Forts and Factories on Hudson Bay, three of their ships or vessels, Fifty Thousand Beaver skins and a great quantity of provisions, stores and merchandizes laid in for many yeares trade and have in a small vessel turned out to sea above Fifty of Your Majesty's Subjects who were then in the Petitioners service, to shift for themselves or perish miserably, besides those whome they have killed or detained Prisoners," etc. This remonstrance had no immediate effect, for when Iberville returned to the Bay the next Spring he found little or no opposition. By 1689, however, the powerful influence of the Company began to bring results, and England sent the *Hampshire* and *Northwest Fox* to Fort Nelson for the capture of Fort Albany.* This expedition was quickly reported to Iberville, who detailed Maricourt with fourteen men to harass the English. The latter assailed the enemy

* Charlevoix reports that Iberville had sent despatches overland from Fort Albany Jan. 5, 1689, while La Hontan reports that in June he met St. Hélène on the Ottawa River *en route* to Hudson Bay with supplies and despatches for Iberville. Iberville in this way kept in close touch with affairs at home.

by night and day, sometimes on the little island upon which they were encamped and sometimes by intercepting their canoes and small boats. In this way the English had lost twenty-two men when Iberville came canoeing across the sea of tossing ice floes and found the vessels locked in the ice before Albany. Keeping his men in ambush until the English had landed eighty-two of their men, he rushed the ships. With an uncanny but unerring instinct he quickly recognized the one which carried the furs, and taking possession of the *Hampshire* as the ice broke up, he sailed gayly away to Quebec. The English became panic-stricken, and setting fire to the other ship they retreated overland to Fort Nelson and burned Fort Severn *en route*. Sailing across the Bay, Iberville was making fine progress with his prize when in the middle of Hudson Straits he ran full tilt into a fleet of English vessels coming in with supplies, while to make conditions worse the ice closed in around them and kept them all prisoners within gun-shot of one another. Nothing disconcerted by this awkward situation and feeling reasonably sure the English would recognize the ship as one of their own, the resolute Iberville ran up the English flag, and with a spontaneous insolence and truly French audacity signalled the captains to come across the ice to visit him. What might have happened if he had got the English captains into his power we can only surmise, for at this moment the ice cleared, and away he

sailed, arriving at Quebec in safety with his load of furs.

While awaiting new orders Iberville hastened on to Montreal, where he was received as a hero by his townspeople, who had rejoiced in his continued success on the Bay and the large inflow of furs which his activity had produced. Thus early he had revealed himself as an excellent tactician, a capable commander, and a captain of industry, and in recognition thereof Governor Denonville again urged the Minister to reward him with a lieutenancy in the Royal Navy.

CHAPTER IV

SCHENECTADY AND FURTHER EXPEDITIONS TO HUDSON BAY

DURING his absence the aspect of affairs at Montreal had changed in some respects. Denonville had arrived at Quebec in 1685 and had full knowledge, while the expedition against Hudson Bay was preparing, that a treaty was being negotiated at London between France and England. This was not a treaty of peace, for the most perfect peace prevailed theoretically between the two Crowns, but it was in order to so establish future relations that war might thereafter be averted in the colonies across the seas. Among the twenty-one articles of the treaty were specifications that no vessels great or small should be equipped, no damage, no act of hostility was to be committed directly or indirectly, and no aid was to be given the Indians on either side by means of men, munitions, or provisions. There was a faint hope that this instrument might result in peace on Hudson Bay, but this by no means occurred. The warfare went on as before. Neither had it resulted in peace for the colonies. In

fact it was a diplomatic and tactical peace only under the cover of which both parties pursued their aims as usual. Louis XIV sent secret instructions to the Governor at Quebec "to leave of the English forts on the northern Bay not a vestige standing"; and in furtherance of his design to attack the Iroquois, with whom the French were now supposedly at peace, he sent hundreds of men and thousands of livres in money and supplies to New France during the Spring of 1687. The intent was to strike the Senecas unawares and thus shatter the mainspring of English intrigue. Since February it had been spread abroad from the Gulf Seigniories to Fort Frontenac that a great campaign was preparing against the Iroquois. Denonville endeavored to mask his designs under the guise of a peace conference, but the Iroquois were suspicious and would not come, the English having warned them that an attack was contemplated. Denonville did, however, succeed in capturing nearly one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, members of a remote, peaceable, and unsuspecting branch of the great confederacy, and these he distributed, — the women and children who had survived among the Christian Missions, and the men after baptism to the galleys of France. One, however, had escaped and carried the news to the Iroquois.

Denonville meanwhile had embarked his people and arrived at Fort Frontenac, where he was met by

Henri de Tonty,* Du Lhut, La Forest, and La Durantaye with a body of *voyageurs* and Indians from the Upper Lakes. White and red, the French forces numbered about two thousand men as they began their march upon the now thoroughly aroused Senecas. An ambuscade and a sharp skirmish met the French at the Seneca village, after which they marched into the burned and deserted town. The entire tribe had fled to their confederates in the East, where Denonville did not pursue them. The Senecas were furious with rage and refused to treat for peace, as Denonville expected and desired, but prowled, singly and in bands, around the French settlements to waylay the unwary. At length, through the influence of some christianized Iroquois, a deputation was sent to the Governor, which was attacked on the march by a Huron Chief, named Le Rat, who hoped thereby to break off negotiations. After having killed some and captured the rest, he was

* Henri de Tonty, who appears more and more frequently in the course of the narrative, merits considerable attention. He was a Neapolitan whose father invented the "tontine" system of insurance. Having been concerned with his father in a conspiracy against the Spanish power, Henri retired to France, where at the age of eighteen he entered the army. He won distinction and lost a hand in the service, and on account of the substitute which he adopted, he was nicknamed "Iron Hand." Prince de Conti recommended him to La Salle in 1677, and he accompanied that leader on his voyage of discovery to the Illinois country, where he took command of Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River (Starved Rock). He administered affairs with such consummate skill that the post was granted to him and La Forest as a seigniory. His faithfulness and devotion to La Salle as well as his great services to France and America have given him high distinction.

told that it was a peace party — which he had very well known, but, feigning astonishment, he told them he had been instructed by Denonville to attack them. Thereupon he released them, saving only one prisoner whom he took to Mackinac and contrived to have shot there by the French. Le Rat told his friends, “I have killed the peace”; and he had, for this treachery and the double dealing of Denonville were deeply resented, and the entire Iroquois Confederacy burned for revenge.

Finally the blow fell. On the night of August 4 and 5, during a furious storm of wind, rain, and hail, the Iroquois, fourteen hundred strong, descended like a thunderbolt upon the little village of La Chine and wiped it off the earth. Here and in the vicinity sixty-six* were killed and the rest carried off for torture. Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, hurrying to attack the retreating raiders, was borne back to Montreal, his arm shattered by a musket ball.

Montreal itself, only nine miles distant, was wild with terror at the news. It had been fortified with palisades since the war began, and there were troops in the town under Denonville himself, but the people were in mortal dread. No attack was made on the town, and such of the inhabitants as reached it were safe, but, as Parkman says, the Iroquois held undisputed possession of the open country and roamed in

* This number, given by Girouard, is undoubtedly more nearly correct than the figures quoted by Parkman and others.



CHIEF HENDRICK (IROQUOIS)

(Original in possession of Chicago Historical Society)

small parties, burning, pillaging, and scalping, over more than twenty miles. As Parkman* effectually demonstrates, there is no ground for the belief, prevalent at that time, that this particular attack on La Chine was instigated by the Dutch and English colonies, but, nevertheless, this theory was proclaimed as a working hypothesis. That they might have done so, unhappily, is not improbable, but that they were ignorant of the attack is certain.

While the colony was lying paralyzed and helpless under the shock of this disaster, James II, friend and subsidized ally of France, was driven from his kingdom, and William of Orange ascended the English throne. Deception, intrigue, stealthy foray, and surreptitious reprisal gave place to open warfare, and Frontenac was restored to the command of Canada. The prelude was now finished, and it was most fitting that to Frontenac should come the congenial duty of inaugurating that long stern contest between New France and New England for the control of North America. He received the news of the La Chine massacre as he entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and with characteristic energy and promptness he began immediately upon his arrival to organize an expedition of retaliation, not against the Iroquois who committed the outrage, but against the English and Dutch. He wished to show the Iro-

* "Frontenac," page 181 note.

quois that their reliance upon their white allies was a delusion and a mockery.

Three war parties were sent out — one each from Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers — against Salmon Falls, Pemaquid, and Schenectady. The one from Montreal started in the late Fall of 1690, under the command of Ailleboust, Sieur de Manthet, and Le Moyne de St. Hélène. With them went François Le Moyne de Bienville (I) and the tireless Iberville, who was unable to remain quiet while there was an adventure on foot. According to Monseignat, the force consisted of one hundred and sixty Canadians and one hundred and forty so-called Christian Indians from the Missions of Saint Louis and the mountain of Montreal. So far as the weather was concerned this was an ideal journey for Iberville. It was the depth of Winter when they began their march, striding on snowshoes over the frozen St. Lawrence. Each had the hood of his blanket coat drawn over his head, a gun in his mittened hand, tobacco, knife, hatchet, bullet pouch at belt, and a pack on his back. Their blankets and provisions they dragged behind them on toboggans. They slept in the snow under a sky as clear as the heavens of Naples and as cold as that of Siberia. They broke their bread with hatchets and washed it down with water dug from the streams through many inches of ice. Threading the forest to Chambly, they advanced four or five days up the Richelieu River

and Lake Champlain, and then stopped for council. Frontenac had given positive orders that such a blow should be struck that the English would feel that matters had reached the final stage; but he had left the objective to the discretion of the leaders, and when the band reached the head of Lake Champlain the Indians demanded to know where they were going. "To Albany," said St. Hélène. The Indians demurred. "How long since the French are grown so bold?" they asked. The French insisted that their honor demanded that they should take Albany or die in the attempt. The Indians listened sullenly, a decision was deferred, and the troop moved forward. Eight days later they reached the Hudson and came to the point where the roads diverge, one to Albany and one to the Dutch settlement of Schenectady. Without discussion they took the latter. Already the hardships had cost the troop fifty men from disability and desertion, but now the march became a desperate affair. At one time there was a thaw, and the troop, benumbed with cold, moved knee-deep through melted snow mingled with ice and mud in gloomy swamps. Then the weather changed and a furious snowstorm came on, and, garbed in ice and snow, the spectral troop moved through a spectral forest over the snow-sheeted ground. For nine long days they forced their pain-racked bodies through this unrelenting wilderness, leagued by a community of affliction and lashed on-

ward by the intensity of their hate. The men were nearly dead with cold, fatigue, and hunger, when at four o'clock on February 8, they found an Indian hut in which dwelt four Mohawk squaws. Here they partially warmed themselves over a small fire, and then, taking the squaws as guides, they resumed their weary march. About dark they reached the Mohawk River, a little above the village of Schenectady.

Here they paused, and Great Mohawk, war chief of the Indian contingent, harangued his followers with considerable eloquence, and exhorted them to seize this opportunity to be revenged on the English, the authors of all their wrongs and the cause of all their hardships. Somewhat animated by his energetic appeal, the troop, numb with cold and haggard with suffering, resumed its grisly journey. It was planned to make the attack at two o'clock in the morning, but as they could not build fires they must move on or perish,—the limit of endurance was reached, human fortitude could stand no more. One report says they were in such a frightful state that had they met the slightest opposition they must have surrendered.*

The village at this time consisted of from fifty to eighty houses surrounded by palisades in the form of a rectangle with two gates at opposite sides. Here in false security the inhabitants lay wrapped in slumber. They had been warned to be on their guard, but

* Drake.

ridiculed the advice. The tempest raged so fiercely and the cold was so intense that it was believed to be impossible for human beings to be exposed to it and live. Such entire security was felt that they had withdrawn their sentinels from the snow-covered palisades, leaving only a snow man at the gate in mockery and derision.

Crossing the river on the ice and toiling through the whirling snow, the French at last reached the village. Iberville with one detachment went to find the gate to Albany and bar it against fugitives, but missing it in the blinding storm he hastened back to the main body. In long files led by St. Hélène and Manthet, they passed in moccasinéd silence through the gate, separated, and like huge snakes, keeping close to the palisades, drew their deadly coils in two white lines entirely around the village until they met on the opposite side. The signal was given and the fiendish work began. With war whoops and yells they broke down the doors and butchered the half-wakened inmates. Every possible cruelty and atrocity was committed. There was little resistance, and in two hours the massacre was ended and the pillage finished. Sixty persons were killed outright and eighty or ninety taken captive. In the village were thirty Mohawks, whose tribe, a member of the Iroquois Confederacy, was friendly to the Dutch and English and hostile to the French, and these the raiders treated with studied politeness to

show that the foray did not include them, — their natural and inveterate enemies. A party of French then crossed the river and appeared before the gate of a man named John Sander Glen, one of the magistrates, whose house, loopholed and palisaded, was manned for defence. The French told him to fear nothing, as they had orders not to hurt him or his. After some parley they left a hostage in the hands of his retainers, and he went with them to the village. At the gate he was met by Iberville and Great Mohawk. Iberville showed him his commission and then told him that he was especially empowered to pay a debt the French owed him. On several occasions he had saved the lives of French prisoners in the hands of the Mohawks, and in return therefor he and his family and all his kindred should be spared. Leading him before the line of wretched captives, Glen stretched his privilege of choice to the utmost, until the French Indians, disgusted at his multiplied demands, observed that everybody seemed to be related to him. In spite of their objections Iberville granted every request with courteous manner and chivalrous words, and by this means nearly sixty were saved.

At noon Schenectady was in ashes, and the French and Indians laden with booty withdrew in rapid retreat. Thirty or forty captured horses drew their sledges, and a band of twenty-seven men and boys were driven prisoners into the forest.

The French and Indians had lost but two of their number.

The alarm meanwhile had reached Albany at day-break, but it was two days before the news reached the friendly Mohawk "castles" that their enemies had made a foray. Immediately troops of eager warriors on snowshoes with guns and tomahawks hurried down to pursue the retiring French. Fifty young men from Albany joined the Mohawks, but found the pace too swift and soon returned without overtaking the fugitives. The Indians, however, with less reason but more hatred, held to the trail unswervingly.

At the head of Lake George, Iberville was detached with one Canadian and two Indians to hasten on and carry the news to the Governor. He arrived at Montreal two days ahead of St. H el ene, who followed with the troop. The French, having lost their incentive, became careless from fatigue as they neared home and lagged a little, thinking the pursuit had been given over. Their food was exhausted, and the captured horses were killed and eaten. Their retreat was cluttered with booty and held back by the weak, wounded, and prisoners. Thus it happened that almost within sight of Montreal the pursuing Mohawks overtook a group of stragglers and killed or captured fifteen of them.

The other French detachments sent out at the same time had been equally victorious; the border

had been ravaged with frightful success. The Indians, who had been sullenly hanging back, now came forward to make treaties with the French. It also united the English colonies in a common defence and brought Phipps and the colonial fleet to the gates of Quebec. This Schenectady expedition was notable, says Kingsford, in that it was the first time that Canada and the French deliberately adopted the Indian policy of war, — the policy of destruction, devastation, and overwhelming desolation, which from this time on to the English conquest was to be their regular method of operation.

Returning from this raid, Iberville was ordered by Frontenac to take command of two armed merchant ships, the *St. Francis* and *St. Anne*, and cruise in Hudson Bay, where during his absence the English had regained Fort Albany. As he passed Fort Nelson, he could not resist the impulse to inspect the place, and landed with ten men to scout around and possibly capture a straggler from whom he could learn the conditions at the fort. Arriving too near his despised foe, his presence was discovered, a large party left the post in pursuit, while the crews manned the English ships and prepared to resist attack. The iron was evidently too hot to hold, and Iberville dropped it, retired hastily to his ships, and sailed for Albany. Having arrived at this point, he at once acceded to the invitation extended by the English to meet in conference. For some reason he

suspected treachery, and previous to the interview he carefully reconnoitred the point selected for the parley. His suspicions were confirmed by the discovery that the place of meeting was commanded by two cannon, masked in underbrush and loaded with small balls.* In swift indignation he put the cannoneers to the sword, drove back the "flag of truce," and returned to his ships. This unfortunate affair made a deep impression on Iberville and greatly intensified his bitterness toward the English, though it is difficult to see why this should be thought worse or more treacherous than the midnight attack on Schenectady. Some days after this the English sent out two of their larger ships, mounting twenty-two and fourteen guns respectively, to attack him. The odds being greatly against him, he resorted to a ruse. Calculating accurately the hour of the tide, he feigned flight and drew their ships into shallow water, where the ebb left them stranded. Then he returned with the next tide and took them both with ease.

During these actions his lieutenant, La Ferté, had run down to Fort Severn (New Savanne) and captured it with its Governor and store of furs. Among the Governor's papers he found orders from the King that Hudson Bay should be proclaimed English territory in violation of the treaty. He now joined his chief before Albany. This fort having been deprived

* Desmazures.

of a large part of its defences, as just described, Iberville again approached, prepared his batteries, and opened fire. Recognizing the folly of defending a fort too frail to resist cannon, the garrison attempted to fire the buildings in the night and escape to Fort Nelson, but the French entered so promptly that the fort and all the peltries were saved. Leaving the post under command of his brother Serigny, he loaded the *St. Francis*, his largest ship, with furs and returned with Maricourt to Quebec.

As he sailed up the St. Lawrence in October, 1690, he was hailed near the Isle aux Coudres by a vessel, under command of his brother Longueuil, who had been ordered to cruise about the mouth of the St. Lawrence and warn the French ships that Quebec was besieged by Admiral Phipps and that they should take refuge in the Saguenay River. He also learned of the death of his mother and that his older brother, St. Hélène, after many inspiring acts of courage, had been mortally wounded during the siege. Thus Death began to take his toll from the daring Le Moynes.

Maricourt with a party of *voyageurs* was detached by Iberville to go to the aid of Quebec. The arrival of this sturdy band bringing the news of the recent French triumphs on Hudson Bay caused great joy and excitement among the anxious inhabitants. A day of rejoicing was proclaimed and public thanks given. Meanwhile, to save his ship and its valu-

able cargo from the English, Iberville sailed for France.

The Hudson Bay question began to assume greater seriousness, and he returned from France in 1691 with the full intent to capture Fort Nelson. Leaving Quebec, he sailed with two ships, of eighteen and twelve guns respectively, and Bonaventure* as his associate in command, to Hudson Bay. Upon arrival he discovered that Fort Nelson was guarded by three ships, including one of forty guns, whereupon the French discreetly withdrew, for in Iberville daring was not alloyed with foolhardiness. But in failing to achieve the main enterprise he did not forget one of no less importance, for he brought back at the end of the season the two ships loaded with eighty thousand beaver and six thousand pounds of other skins.

At Montreal the Iroquois had not been idle. During the Spring and Fall they always prowled in small bands about the settlements as they came and went from their winter hunts. This year they were more numerous and bold than usual and attacked their victims in the very shadow of the palisades. No planting could be done nor any hunting, and the colony faced the imminent danger of famine. Parties went out in various directions to drive off the enemy. One band of forty Iroquois had been living in a

* Claude Denis, Sieur de Bonaventure, belonged to one of the oldest Canadian families and afterward rose to the rank of admiral in the Navy. He was a valuable aid to Iberville.

deserted house near the fort at Repentigny for several weeks, and from this advantageous point they made their forays at leisure. A force was collected to attack them at night, and but one escaped ; but during the attack young François Le Moyne de Bienville was killed. This was his second formal adventure, the first being that terrible Schenectady campaign. The manner of his death was characteristic of the family brand of hardihood. According to the report, he dashed up alone to the house sheltering the Indians, fired his gun through the window, and shouting his name after the Iroquois custom, started back. He was shot, of course, before he had gone fifty feet.

While the French nearly always accompanied their Indian allies on their forays, the English did so only exceptionally. Occasionally they went out in a large party with but a few Indians, but their usual method was to furnish the Iroquois with arms and encourage them to send war parties against the French. In time the Iroquois became disgusted with this one-sided arrangement wherein they seemed to be doing a larger part of the fighting, and accused the English of cowardice. Stimulated to disprove the charges of their warlike allies, the industrial English were driven to arms. Assembling some Indians and a troop of the English and Dutch colonists, Schuyler led a raid against the French settlements along Richelieu River. This was partially successful, although

the expedition suffered heavily during the return trip. Thus in the cruel, barbarous temper of that age neither colony could be said to be superior to the other in the question of the ethics of warfare. It was slay or be slain, and so alarm followed alarm and raid succeeded raid, while no permanent advantage was gained by either side.

By an unusual effort in 1692 the unabashed English had retaken Fort Albany for the third time, and again the precious furs were diverted to England. Recognizing clearly that Hudson Bay could not be retained without command of Fort Nelson and being more than ever impressed with its enormous value, Iberville resolved to go to France and secure direct from the King the ships necessary to his undertaking, which Frontenac was unable to furnish him. His ideas of conquest now took definite shape and definite aim. He began to realize his personality and to lay plans for his future life work which apparently involved a constant warfare with the English. His ambition also took a larger sweep, and he saw himself winning a world power and the entire new continent for France.

His petition in regard to Fort Nelson was forcibly presented and at length was received with favor. He was made a Captain of Frigates and given two ships, the *Poli* and *Envieux*, with which he was ordered to convoy a fleet of twelve merchantmen to Canada and then proceed to Hudson Bay. At Quebec it was ar-

ranged that two armed merchantships of the "Compagnie du Nord" should join him. The whole profit of the undertaking was to go to the Company, while the glory and the danger of the enterprise were to be shared between Iberville and Commander Tast of the King's ships. The latter rebelled at this one-sided arrangement, and the trip was deferred. Frontenac also represented that the season was too far advanced for an attack on the Bay, and insisted that Iberville should use the ships for the conquest of Pemaquid,* to which the English had returned after the foray of the war parties. He was ordered to take his ships with four hundred men, pick up two or three hundred Indians at Pentagoet, reduce Pemaquid, and then attack Wells, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Shoals, after which he could scour the sea for the English. After cruising about and capturing one small armed vessel he returned to Quebec without making the attack on Pemaquid. This aroused the indignation of Frontenac, who wrote the Minister that the presence of his sister on the ship made Iberville cautious. Iberville's defence was that he found he could not land safely without a good pilot, which he was unable to secure, and, while the defences of Pemaquid were unfinished, there was an English man-of-war in the harbor which would make the landing, already unsafe, quite impossible. Again in the following year he convoyed the merchant fleet, but was detained by

* Near Bristol, Maine.

contrary winds and again arrived too late to make the expedition to Hudson Bay. He therefore went into winter quarters at Quebec and seized this opportunity, the first real period of quiet since he had returned to Canada from his naval apprenticeship, to marry. The bride's name was Marie Thérèse Pollet de la Combe Pocatière.* That he had evaded the marriage tie hitherto under the severe penalties imposed on bachelors can be explained not only by his prolonged absences, but by his complete immersion in his designs against the English. His marriage at this time and the birth of his two children show that he was not entirely impervious to the attractions of domestic life, but that such feelings occupied a very insignificant place in his active career is a logical inference from his character, his intense industry, and his keen interest in matters of State.

* She was the daughter of a captain in the Carignan Regiment. After D'Iberville's death she went to France and married Bethune, lieutenant-general in the Royal Army. Nothing seems to be known of the children in later life.

CHAPTER V

FORT NELSON

BESIDES controlling Hudson Bay, Fort Nelson commanded the trade in furs north and west of Lake Superior clear to the Rocky Mountains, and therefore was a point of utmost importance to its possessor. Serigny had returned from France in the Spring of 1694 with positive orders from the King to collect the men and join his brother Iberville in an attack on this post. They left Quebec therefore on August 16 with three ships-of-war, the *Poli*, the *Salamander*, and the *Envieux*, and with them again went Maricourt, who had distinguished himself in the siege of Quebec, and young Chateauguay, eighteen years old, who served as ensign on the *Poli*. He was burning with zeal and eager to win his spurs in this new adventure. Father Marest* was the chaplain and historian of the voyage, being sent, as he says, by his superiors because, being newly arrived and knowing no Indian language, he was the least valuable to Canada. His narrative of the expedition

* From 1699 to 1702 Father Marest was in charge of the Illinois Mission and therefore again within Iberville's sphere of influence.

is too circumstantial for full quotation. Amid icebergs and storms, calms and contrary currents, Iberville finally passed Hudson Straits on September 20 and reached the mouth of Nelson River four days later. It was such bitter weather that the mariners made vows to St. Anne, says Father Marest, hoping thereby to obtain mitigation of the cold. Shifting shoals of sand drift barred the sea from the main coast for ten miles north and south, but across the shoals were gaps visible at low tide through which the current rushed. At this point the Hayes and Nelson Rivers empty into Hudson Bay by a common mouth, but their junction is but a short distance from the Bay. Fort Nelson was located about four miles from the mouth on the triangular tongue of land bounded by the two river channels converging and conjoined. The fort, standing above high water about eighty yards from the river, was the usual stockade structure of the period, with bastions at the four corners, which were used as storehouses and residences. The river front of the fort was further protected by a crescent-shaped earthwork sheltering eight cannon and having at its foot a platform fortified by six cannon. The weakest side was on the north, where there was no provision made for training the cannon toward the woods. In all, the armament consisted of thirty-two cannon and fourteen swivel guns outside the fort and fifty-three inside. The environment was

not inviting nor the outlook attractive; in fact, there was absolutely no advantage to induce residence except its commanding importance in the fur trade. The soil was not unproductive, though the season was very short, but large areas of the country were covered by an inundated swamp (muskeg) through which one must wade sometimes to the waist and over most of which there spread an almost impenetrable growth of low stunted pine. During the summer months the clouds of mosquitoes greatly increased the trouble and danger.

Hoping their arrival had been unnoticed, a force was sent to attempt the fort by surprise. The water was shallow and the men threw themselves over, thigh deep, into the slush ice, and waded ashore. The English, however, were alert, having seen them a long way off, and the landing party was driven back. Two days were spent in making soundings, and then the ships were conducted past the fort, from which they received several volleys, and anchored, one on either side of the tongue of land, about six miles up the two rivers which form by their approach to a common mouth the peninsula on the south side of which the fort was located. On account of the shallow icy water, the ebb of the tide, and the furious northwest snowstorms, the vessels were nearly lost before the anchorage was secured. Vows were again made to St. Anne before the weather would moderate. The ice hurled against the ships

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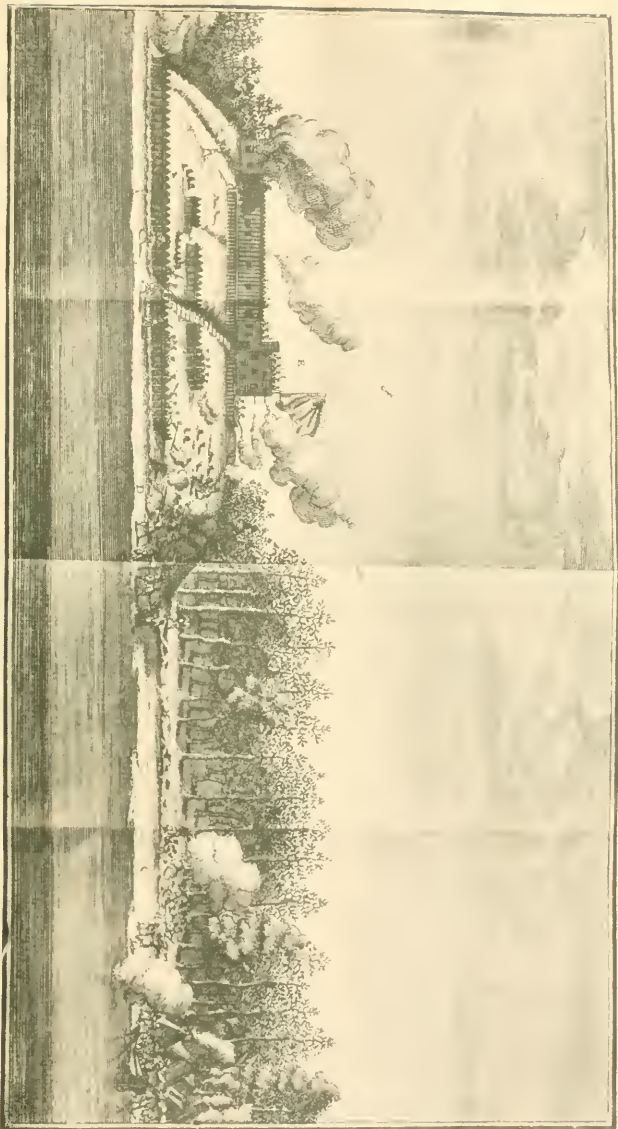
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by the furious wind made a noise that could be heard a league away, and the hulls were broken in several places by the savage impact. Throughout all Iberville was everywhere, looking after his ship and crew. Some of the cannon were thrown overboard to lighten the vessel before it could be dragged over the bar to a secure anchorage. Men were landed to harass the fort, cut off stragglers, intercept spies, and prevent interference with the small boats from the ship. During this skirmishing to divert the attention of the garrison, the imprudent audacity of the young Le Moynes was again rebuked. In a reckless attempt to emulate his brethren and win distinction on this his first adventure young Chateauguay was killed. Although extraordinarily touched by the premature death of this tenderly loved brother, Iberville took the blow with compressed lips and only busied himself the more deeply in his preparations, fearing, as Father Marest says, that any sign of weakness on his part might discourage the men, who were already almost overcome by the many hardships. Father Marest was the messenger between the two ships and made his first trail in the great wilderness at this place. He was much gratified at his success, which he piously attributed to his patron saint. By the thirteenth of October the batteries had been placed and all was in readiness to open fire. According to custom a summons to surrender was sent to the garrison with

an offer of good conditions. A delay for consideration was requested until the next day, which was granted. The fort was then given up without conditions with its garrison of fifty-three men, and Father Marest says with some scorn that they did not even ask for their arms and flag. Sixty men were sent to take possession. The English burghers, expert in trade but untrained in war, were no match for the fiery *voyageurs* led by the redoubtable Iberville.

One is repeatedly impressed by the ease and celerity with which Iberville secured his victories. This is explainable, not alone on the ground that he surpassed his opponents in intellect and militarism, but also because the completeness of his preparations dismayed his antagonists and the determination he exhibited destroyed their courage. Furthermore, in principle the assailants have an energy from their excitement and an impetuosity of courage which the defenders cannot have from the very nature of the conditions. It was a test of character rather than of physique, of resolution rather than of stockades.

Winter now set in with its usual severity, and with it a new foe appeared and decimated the garrison; scurvy broke out in the camp and raged violently throughout the season. The English reports also complain bitterly about the way the English prisoners were treated by the French Commandant, La Forest, during the frequent absences



IBBEVILLE'S ATTACK ON FORT NELSON

(From La Potherie)

Shows (a) landing at Camp Bourbon ; (b) the mortars ; (c) skirmishers

of Iberville and Maricourt. The writings state that the English suffered such hardships in captivity that many wandered away into the forest and either joined the Indians or perished from exposure, since they were never afterward heard from. During this period the Le Moynes could not remain inactive, and they made various trips around the Bay, and occupied themselves in recapturing from the English the other posts, so that the entire region fell under French control.

Iberville now began to prepare for the spring campaign. By July 30, 1695, the ice had broken up in the Bay, and the ships dropped down to the mouth of the river to await the fleet from England with supplies and merchandise. Having lingered as long as possible on what proved to be a fruitless quest, Iberville left La Forest in command and sailed in September for Quebec. He was delayed by contrary winds off the Labrador coast, and having many sick on board, he changed his plan and sailed for France.

Shortly after his departure the English fleet of five vessels appeared before the fort with the annual supplies and a strong force of the Company's servants. Resolved upon defence, La Forest sent a squad of his rangers under Jérémie to ambush and, if possible, to destroy the landing party. Their fire was so rapid and deadly that the English were driven back with the conviction that the fort was

strongly defended. The ships thereupon opened fire with bombs, and La Forest was forced to capitulate. Good conditions were offered and accepted, but after entering the fort the English, ashamed of their repulse by so small a garrison, violated the articles of surrender and sent the French as prisoners to England.

During the next Spring, while the English ships still lay before the fort, Le Moyne de Serigny arrived from France with two ships to reinforce the garrison. Finding the fort in English hands and defended by a superior fleet, he returned without making an attack.

The French rarely had enough men to garrison the posts which they took from the English, and in a measure this explains the frequency with which they were recaptured. On the other hand, there is the possibility that the small garrison might be intentional and that the recapture of the forts was not unwelcome to the French, since the large resources of the English company could thereby be utilized to stock the posts with furs, a desirable condition to precede another French attack.

Iberville arrived at Rochelle October 9, 1695, with his shipload of peltries. Pontchartrain* thanked him in behalf of the King for his services, and he in

* In the Department of the Marine Louis Phélypeaux, Count of Pontchartrain, succeeded Seignelay Nov. 5, 1690, and was followed in 1699 by his own son, Jerome Phélypeaux, Count of Maurepas.

turn interested the Minister in his new projects, for from this time on his opinion carried great weight in American affairs.

It was an inspiring time to visit France. Louis XIV reigned in splendor over the most powerful nation and the most brilliant capital of the age. Distinguished scholars and renowned warriors thronged his dazzling court, and laid their honors as a willing tribute at the feet of the city whose magnificent buildings and intellectual eminence made her the queen of civilization. The *élite* of Europe crowded the great boulevards from the Gate of St. Martin to the Bastille, while Les Invalides, Les Tuileries, and Le Louvre reared high their sculptured glories for an appreciative world. Versailles also had become a marvel of wealth and grandeur, the peculiar pride of the living and the destined monument of the dead King. Hither naturally came Iberville. From the solitude of the lakes, from the grim shadows of the wilderness, and from the perils of the lonely trail, he came to the glittering concourse at Paris and the favor of the King.

The horizon of the young commander expanded broadly, and his ambitions rose to greater heights from a close survey of the armies and navies of the Grand Monarch, then at the zenith of his power. His fancy was stimulated, his imagination took fire, and he dreamed of great things. His mental at-

titude had become one of settled hostility toward England as the principal obstacle to the expansion of New France, a hostility comparable only to that of the Iroquois toward the French settlements. His active brain teemed with plans for the destruction of the English colonies. In the magnificent fleet which he found in the harbors of France he saw with his naval training a means to effect his aim. Under a competent commander, one desperate battle rightly conceived and properly executed could destroy the English Navy, and thereafter the merchantmen could be swept from the seas at leisure and sent as prizes to France. Then the colonial seaboard would lie open to the French and the coast could be ravaged from Charleston to Pemaquid and the captured cities either ransomed or destroyed. The English whom he had met hitherto were an inferior class who did not merit his respect, and he had received a very poor idea of their militarism.

However, the attack by sea presented many difficulties, which he saw very clearly, and laying this plan aside temporarily, he began to consider the feasibility of an alternative campaign which hinged upon a land attack. This he elaborated more fully, and during his trip to Acadia the following year he wrote it out in detail and forwarded it to the Minister on the ship sent out by M. de Brouillon in December, 1696. This ship was wrecked on the

coast of Spain, and with this mishap Iberville's plan slumbered until he chose to resurrect it later. Frontal attack in force if persistent might in time wear down the English colonies, but in checkmating the English there was one method and one only that could succeed. Iberville insisted that step by step with the growth of New France a chain of agricultural and trading colonies must be established along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi. This plan, so evident now, was at that time perceived but by a few. Frontenac was one of these and was striving by night and day to make it possible. The great La Salle had seen the light among the first, and his stern, intrepid soul, worn out in a passionate effort to convince the little minds and overcome the more formal obstacles of the Court, had already met martyrdom in his heroic crusade.

From another viewpoint and with a different aim the Jesuits had sought to produce the same result, but the destruction of the Huron Nation by the Iroquois had ruined their hopes. Pontchartrain also was to have a brief glimpse of the mighty panorama that appeared so clearly to the others, but he was overborne by the sheer inertia of ignorance, superstition, and European politics. Iberville had the idea strongly developed, and again and again he urged upon the attention of the Minister his views as outlined above. Later in the narrative

he will appear with his brethren, following in the wake of La Salle and zealously striving to erect a western barrier to that restless English tide that threatened momentarily to surge through the rocky passes of the Alleghanies and overwhelm the entire Mississippi Valley.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEWFOUNDLAND CAMPAIGN

NEWFOUNDLAND is situated at the junction of three great ocean currents. At this point the St. Lawrence River from the west meets the ice-burdened current from the Arctic Ocean, both of which are tempered and warmed by the great Gulf Stream from the Tropics. The rock-laden icebergs dissolve and drop their burden gradually. Marine animals from the Tropics and animalculæ coming north in the Gulf Stream meet their death in the frigid waters of the Polar Sea, and their bodies descend and join the detritus from the icebergs in creating the Grand Banks. Meanwhile the shallow water and abundance of food bring hither vast numbers of fish of many species. As early as 1504 the fishing had begun, and by 1578 there were one hundred and fifty French vessels on the Grand Banks. The English, too, had established many fishing stations along the eastern coast, and with customary enterprise they had made communication easy between them by opening up roads through the forests. Next to the fur trade, the fisheries brought the greatest re-

turn, and at this time the sum amounted to about \$5,000,000 per year. The English as well as the French fully understood the transcendent commercial importance of Newfoundland, and realized that it controlled an industry that was easily the most extensive and could become the most valuable in the world.

None better than Iberville, the buccaneer fur-trader, recognized the consequences of such a monopoly. He had urged upon Frontenac, and by the advice of the Governor had represented to the Court,* that the commerce of England in Newfoundland could make them powerful enough if unchecked to dominate the French colony, and he offered to lead an expedition against them. After considerable discussion it was arranged that the King's ships should transport the men, while Iberville and others with him should pay them and divide the plunder for their compensation, an arrangement that was not unusual in those days. He began therefore immediately to arrange an expedition against the English fishing stations in Newfoundland. These settlements extended along the coast from Cape Race north to Cape St. Francis, thence along both shores of Conception Bay to Grates Point, its most northern extremity, thence along both sides of Trinity Bay to Cape Bonavista, making altogether a line two or

* Lettre de d'Iberville dans son dossier, aux Archives de la Marine.

three hundred miles long. While Iberville was making his preparations, governmental advices were sent to M. de Brouillon,* in command of the only French establishment on the island, at Placentia on the southeastern part, to use all his power to aid the expedition of which Iberville was given the command. In June, 1696, Iberville returned to Canada with M. de Bonaventure, an officer of the navy, with two ships. He had assembled a hundred Canadians the previous year for a hazardous enterprise, and these he found ready to join him. He enrolled them with others and took many volunteers from the *coureurs de bois*. These men had for their principal merit a tried courage and proved hardihood, and they met so many dangers that in the memoirs of the time it is suggested that they should be called *coureurs des risques*. But to the same degree that they were brave and hardy, they were also lawless, mutinous, and unmanageable except under a leader of great tact, experience, and determination. Du Luth as well as Iberville excelled in controlling these bold but irresponsible warriors. Having chosen his men, Iberville sent word to Brouillon that he would join him during the first days of September. But in the midst of this activity Governor Frontenac,

* Jacques François de Brouillon belonged to a good family, of Guienne, France, and had served as an officer of infantry since 1670. He was appointed Governor of Placentia in 1690. Although an officer of merit, he was inclined to peculation, and both merchants and inhabitants made frequent complaints under his administration.

uneasy over the progress made by the English in Acadia and seeing a force ready at hand, required Iberville to take part in an attack on Pemaquid, which had been reoccupied by the English after its desolation by the Abenaki Indians.

From Pemaquid the English constantly threatened the Indian allies of France. With two frigates, the *Profond* and the *Envieux*, Iberville and Bonaventure arrived at Spanish Bay, June 26, 1696, where they found letters awaiting them with the information that three English vessels were cruising near the entrance of the St. John River. Here also they met M. Baudoin, erstwhile *mousquetaire* in the King's Guard and now a Jesuit Father, who joined the expedition as Chaplain and became its historian. This militant churchman was a valuable adjunct to the enterprise and in close sympathy with his energetic commander. The news of the English vessels rejoiced him greatly, and he says, "God be praised, for we are resolved to go and find them." They set sail, and about July 14 three English ships were signalled and Iberville went immediately to attack them. The ships were the *Newport*, twenty-four guns, the *Sorling*, thirty-four guns, and a tender from Massachusetts. In the contest that followed the *Newport* was dismasted and taken after a battle that lasted two hours, but the *Sorling* and the tender escaped in the fog. The French suffered no loss. Baudoin says that Iberville had closed the ports of

the *Profond* and otherwise disguised her to lure the English into engagement. After taking on some more men at St. Johns they assembled three hundred Abenaki Indians, and having given them a big feast, all started for Pemaquid, the Indians by canoe, the French by ship, and arrived August 14, 1696. The fort of Pemaquid, mounting sixteen guns, stood on the west side of the promontory of the same name, on the river of that name near its mouth. The walls formed a quadrangle, with ramparts of rough stone, incapable, however, of resisting heavy shot. On August 15 the mortars and cannon were disembarked. The summons to surrender was met with a valorous refusal, in which Governor Chubb stated that he would fight "even if the sea were covered with French ships and the land with Indians." By working all night Iberville surrounded the fort with batteries so placed that when morning came the Governor was convinced that resistance would be useless. Terms were accorded him, and the fort was evacuated, the men marching out without arms. True to his promise, Iberville sent the people of the fort to an island in the bay beyond the reach of his red allies; otherwise it would have gone hard with them when the Indians discovered an Indian prisoner in chains and nearly dead in the dungeon of the fort.

The aim of the expedition was thus accomplished, and Iberville, fearing that the expelled English might return, destroyed the fort and gave the arms and

ammunition to the Indians as their share of the plunder.

Meantime the *Sorling* arrived at Boston with her report of the naval battle, and found there the British men-of-war *Arundel* and *Boston*. With these and an armed merchantman, four in all,* the *Sorling* sailed for Portsmouth, the supposed object of the next French attack. Failing to find the French there, they sailed on toward Pemaquid and discovered Iberville's two frigates sailing northward along the shore. They tried to intercept them near Mt. Desert, Maine, but darkness came on and with it a heavy fog, under cover of which the French escaped.

After the demolition of the fort at Pemaquid, Iberville had set out for Placentia, where he was to meet Brouillon. He arrived there on September 12, only to find to his great surprise that Brouillon was unwilling to serve under another, and, hoping to obtain the glory of its capture and the large booty for himself, had hastened with his fleet to attack St. Johns, on the eastern coast, which was the greatest centre for trade and shipping as well as the oldest settlement on the island. He thus disregarded his promises to Iberville and the orders of the King. Furthermore Iberville had warned him that the city could not be taken by sea alone on account of the tides, winds, and the nature of

* Baudoin says seven.

the shore. This Brouillon soon found to be true, when, beginning the bombardment, he discovered that the vessels could not keep their places in the roadstead but were swept to the south by the currents. He therefore disembarked some troops and captured a few insignificant fishing stations, and then returned, much chagrined, to Placentia, only to find himself face to face with Iberville. Iberville had planned to march overland and surprise Carbonière, which was the strongest place on the island and harbored, as he had learned, eight ships loaded with cod. As events proved, this would have been the wisest course, but Brouillon would not consent to coöperate and opposed Iberville at every possible point. All the reports seem to agree that Brouillon was a grasping, avaricious, and tyrannical man whom no one liked or even respected. This feeling obtained especially among his soldiers, whom he compelled to fish while he took the proceeds. He now insisted that he should be made chief in command, that the expedition should be deferred until the following year, and that Iberville's force should be joined to his for an attack on St. Johns.

Iberville tried to clear up the matter, said it was not yet too late, and that Winter was by all odds the most propitious time for such an undertaking because the attack would be so unexpected and the forces would not be bothered by the spring floods. Furthermore, the sea method was not desirable on

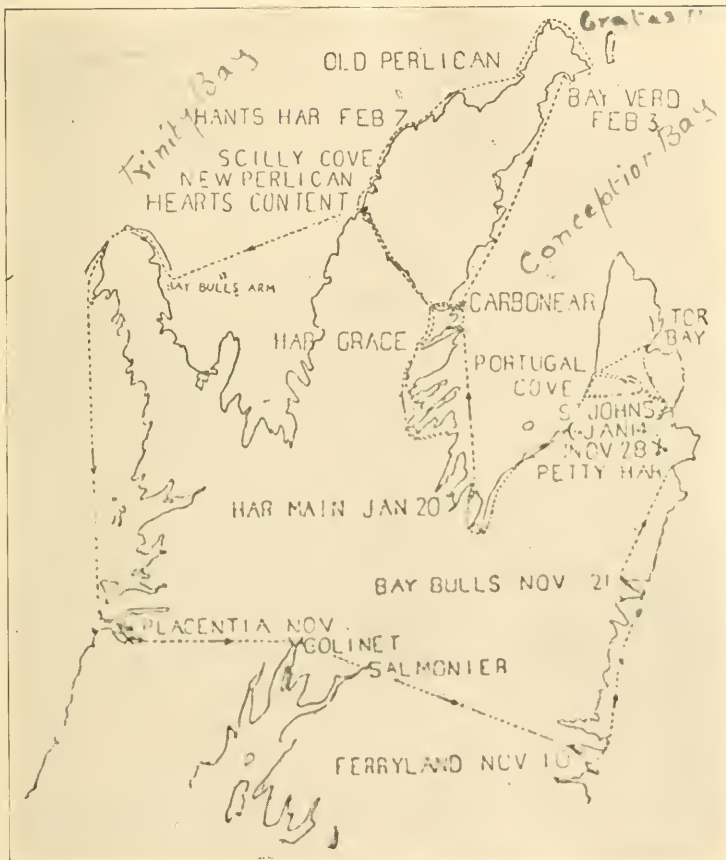
account of the many inlets and bays, but by land the troops could move swiftly along the roads the English had built for themselves. Brouillon refused to listen. A winter campaign full of hardships presented to him few of the advantages and none of the delights that thrilled the tireless Iberville. Finally he said, if Iberville wished to go, he might, but he would remove the Canadians from his command and put them under Captain des Muys. Although much disturbed by this decision which deprived him of the flower of his command, Iberville displayed great self-control and moderation; he withdrew all his personal claims and said the matter should be referred to the Minister for adjudication, and as he had hired the Canadians he was disposed to accept the proposition rather than give up the expedition and assume the loss. Not so the Canadians. These hardy woodrangers were his Tenth Legion who would fight only under Cæsar and under him they were invincible. They made a great outcry, claiming they had been engaged by Iberville, who had received authority from Frontenac, and they refused to march and even threatened to go home unless left under Iberville's command. Brouillon's exhortations, remonstrances, and even threats were equally fruitless, and, knowing they would do as they threatened, he finally yielded with bad grace. The division of the spoil was also a source of irritation and discussion, as Brouillon

claimed and insisted upon receiving the larger share.

Iberville tactfully yielded in regard to Carbonière, and, the other points at issue being composed temporarily, they set out, Iberville over land and Brouillon by sea, to meet at Rogneuse, a few leagues south of St. Johns. Although invited to sail with Brouillon, Father Baudoin gallantly chose the more hazardous trip undertaken by Iberville and his Canadians. The course led over half-frozen marshes where the troop alternately waded knee-deep in the ice-filled water and slid upon the ice-covered surface and crossed foaming rivers of ice and water which came to their waists. Nevertheless Iberville reached the rendezvous at the appointed time and found Brouillon awaiting him with a new grievance about the booty. Iberville put his foot down sternly, and the objection was withdrawn. Having landed the provisions and munitions from his vessel, the *Profond*, Iberville sent it away with prisoners, as he could not use it in land operations. Assuming that now, at any rate, the advantage was his, Brouillon again made a disturbance about the Canadian force and the booty; but Iberville suggested that after so much vacillation Brouillon might incite a serious revolt among the restless Canadians, so things were left as before.

November 20 the march on St. Johns began. Gabriel Montigny, who was next to Iberville in com-

mand and efficiency, marched ahead with thirty men, then came Iberville and Brouillon with the main body. One vessel and several stations were captured *en route*. As they neared St. Johns, they were opposed by eighty men who had felled trees for breastworks across the road. After some skirmishing Iberville led a charge and overcame the enemy, who were driven back into the city. The pursuit was so close, says Baudoin, that Iberville and a few followers entered the city with the fugitives and captured two small outposts and thirty-three men. Being unsupported, he was compelled to retire. With a hundred men the large fort could have been captured at this time. The conduct of the troops under fire in this and various other engagements led the observant Baudoin to reflect that Brouillon's men did not compare favorably with the Canadians; he thought they needed some training against the Iroquois. The city of St. Johns was garrisoned by two hundred and fifty untrained men, but the fort was well equipped, surrounded by palisades, buttressed with bastions, and provided with cannon. The demand for surrender was refused. Then the garrison asked for a delay of two days in which to consider the matter, as they hoped by that time that two ships which could be seen tacking to and fro across the harbor mouth would secure a favorable wind and come to their assistance. The French also had seen the ships and de-



MAP OF CAMPAIGN IN NEWFOUNDLAND, 1696-7

(From Prowse's "History of Newfoundland." Used by courtesy of D. W. Prowse)

manded an immediate answer, which was again refused. Iberville and Montigny now led two detachments to make a night attack on the city and set fire to portions of it. Both succeeded. On the following morning the entrenchments were finished, and when the batteries were brought up and all was ready to open fire, the fort surrendered. Brouillon conducted the negotiations without consulting Iberville and made himself as obnoxious as possible. The two ships in the offing sailed away as soon as the place yielded. Sixty-two thousand quintals* of codfish fell into the hands of the French. The city could not be occupied, so it was burned. The news of the event spreading through the English stations produced the greatest consternation. After the fall of St. Johns, Brouillon declared himself overcome with fatigue and decided to return to Placentia, leaving to Iberville the honors and responsibilities of a winter campaign which in his heart he hoped and expected would be fatal to all concerned.

Iberville was quite delighted to be relieved of the presence of his vexatious and obtrusive associate, and he began his march in midwinter with one hundred and twenty-five Canadians and a few Indians. For two months this indefatigable Knight of the Snows led his hardy band through the wintry forests and wind-swept marshes of Newfoundland. Bivouacking in the snow and carrying their provisions

* A quintal is equivalent to one hundred pounds.

and ammunition on their backs as they moved from hamlet to hamlet, they carried death and destruction along those desolate and rock-bound coasts. The English were completely surprised, for they had not the slightest idea that a land attack was possible, and especially in midwinter, for up to this time they had never seen snowshoes; besides, they had yet to learn, as they quickly did, the remorseless pertinacity of the ironlike Iberville in the execution of his tasks. To the English villages the incursion of Iberville resembled nothing less than the fell descent of the Angel of Wrath. Some of the inhabitants were killed, but most were swept up like dust and carried to France. They could have been no more surprised, no more powerless, no more utterly extinguished, if some great cataclysm of Nature had overwhelmed them.

The hardships of the march were terrible for the French, but they were frankly met and bravely overcome. Baudoin says: "The roads are so bad that we can find only twelve men strong enough to beat the path. Our snowshoes break on the crust and against rocks and fallen trees hidden under the snow, which catch and trip us, but for all that, we cannot help laughing to see now one and then another fall headlong." The climatic conditions made a more serious defence than the English, whose resistance was feeble and fruitless. It was a journey rather than a conquest, but a journey of such fright-

ful hardships that it was inconceivable to his contemporaries that it could be done by a white man; certainly no human obstacle could have been harder than the grim defence of Nature. The entire shore became panic-stricken as station after station fell into the hands of the French. Portugal Cove, Salmon Cove, Hâvre de Grace, Bay Verte, Hearts Content, Old Perlican, and twenty other stations all fell before the French raiders. The coast was swept clean for a time, with two exceptions, of all vestiges of English occupation. Bonavista on account of its remoteness was spared temporarily, while Carbonière defied them. This fort was located on an island with lofty, precipitous sides and had only one entrance to the harbor. This entrance was difficult to pass even during calm weather, while the fierce winter storms and the floating batteries which defended it made passage impossible. Once at midnight in a driving storm of sleet Iberville and ninety men went entirely around the island in boats, so close that they could touch with their hands the steep sides of the frowning cliffs; but no shelf or foothold could they find. Day after day Iberville surveyed that impregnable fortress with eager yearning, but the beating surf and the glassy ice made assault impracticable, and he eventually withdrew, fully determined to return to the attack with better facilities.

As a whole, the raid had been a great success. In

a campaign of five months the little band had conquered five hundred square leagues of country, marched two hundred leagues, captured and destroyed ninety vessels, made seven hundred prisoners, killed two hundred men, and seized one hundred and ninety thousand quintals of codfish. This expedition was the first of many undertaken during the next ten years in Newfoundland, conducted with the same purpose and on the same plan, but none was so successful nor so thorough as this one.

The raid of the French caused great alarm all along the coast from New England to Virginia. In England too there was great indignation against the Government that no defence had been furnished the colony. Now, when it was too late for protection, a large naval and military force under Admiral Norris was sent to patrol the coast, survey the ruins, and recapture the desolated land. They found no enemy. The French had swooped down like birds of prey, harried the English settlements, and flown heavily back to Placentia. When the English relief arrived, they found St. Johns completely abandoned. The French had burnt, pillaged, and destroyed everything movable and immovable. In that once flourishing settlement no building was left standing, the fort was demolished, and, as Prowse says, "literally not one stone was left upon another." Iberville had done his work with characteristic thoroughness.

He was now at Placentia, daily expecting news

of the fleet promised him from France for the new Hudson Bay project. While waiting, he armed and outfitted his men for an attack on Bonavista and Carbonière. He picked his people with great care and with an eye to those who could best withstand the greatest hardships. In his selection he had great trouble, for every one was eager to join an expedition which was to be conducted by the young Commander, who had become the most popular and, except Frontenac, the most conspicuous man in New France. During the last campaign the Canadians had not only made war but had acquired wealth. They were under strict discipline, and everything had been saved. Their rich booty, however, was now a source of trouble. The harsh, impracticable, impossible Brouillon made known in the most formal way that he expected to share in all the benefits of the last expedition, an expedition in which he had only partially participated and for which his share had been received. When this preposterous demand was abruptly refused, he imprisoned some of his opponents and attempted to deprive Iberville of the services of his invaluable lieutenant, Montigny. Iberville had now reached the limit of his patience and was about to use forcible measures, when, on May 18, 1697, his brother Serigny arrived from France with the fleet and brought urgent orders for the attack on Hudson Bay. It was specified in the orders that the completion of the campaign

might be accomplished by Brouillon, while Iberville turned his conquering hand to a more important matter. It is interesting to note that, in spite of Brouillon, the English occupied all their previous stations by the end of the following year.

Reluctantly leaving unfinished his plans which demanded that no English colonist should remain in Newfoundland, Iberville again took up the problem of Hudson Bay.

CHAPTER VII

BATTLE OF HUDSON BAY AND THE RECAPTURE OF FORT NELSON

THE ships were fitted out, the men recalled from various parts of the coast, and when the preparations were finished the squadron sailed, July 8, 1697, for Hudson Bay. Iberville commanded the *Pelican*, fifty guns and one hundred and fifty men, Serigny the *Profond*, and Boisbriant the *Wasp*. Two other ships, the *Palmier* and the *Esquimaux*, completed the fleet, the latter being a supply ship. Besides Serigny, Iberville had with him also his younger brother, Jean Baptiste de Bienville,* the second of that surname, who was now a midshipman sixteen years old and eager to assume his part in sustaining and contributing to the family distinction. The harsh hand of pioneer life brings an early maturity, and, trained and hardened by the Newfoundland campaign, he now makes formal appearance in those foreign enterprises from which afterward in Louisiana he was to acquire such renown. La Potherie and Jérémie, who accompanied the expedition, were

* Afterward Governor of Louisiana and founder of New Orleans.

the two historians by whom it was afterward chronicled.

In sixteen days the fleet was breaking the ice and dodging the icebergs of Hudson Straits. Unless the ships kept close together they were lost from sight in the multitude of ice mountains. The *Pelican* was in the lead, and the giant bergs as far as the eye could see moved and mingled like clouds, advanced in line, in clusters, and in platoons. At times two giants three hundred feet high would crash together with a noise like thunder. Again the wind would overturn one of these top-heavy floating mountains and then woe to the ship near by! In one such phenomenon a mizzenmast was carried away from one ship, and another, the *Esquimaux*, was lost with her valuable cargo. The crew alone was saved with great difficulty. The sky was generally covered with hard white clouds, from which, even in the clearest weather, it was never entirely free, but they always knew when they were approaching the ice, long before they saw it, by a bright appearance on the horizon called by the Greenlanders "the blink of the ice." The navigation, extra hazardous at all times, reached its maximum in the furious storms that frequently occur in those Straits. On July 24 the squadron ran into one that lasted for nine hours, and when the wind died down the *Pelican* was covered with ice from peak to waterline, the ropes and sails immovable, and the watchman on his high sta-

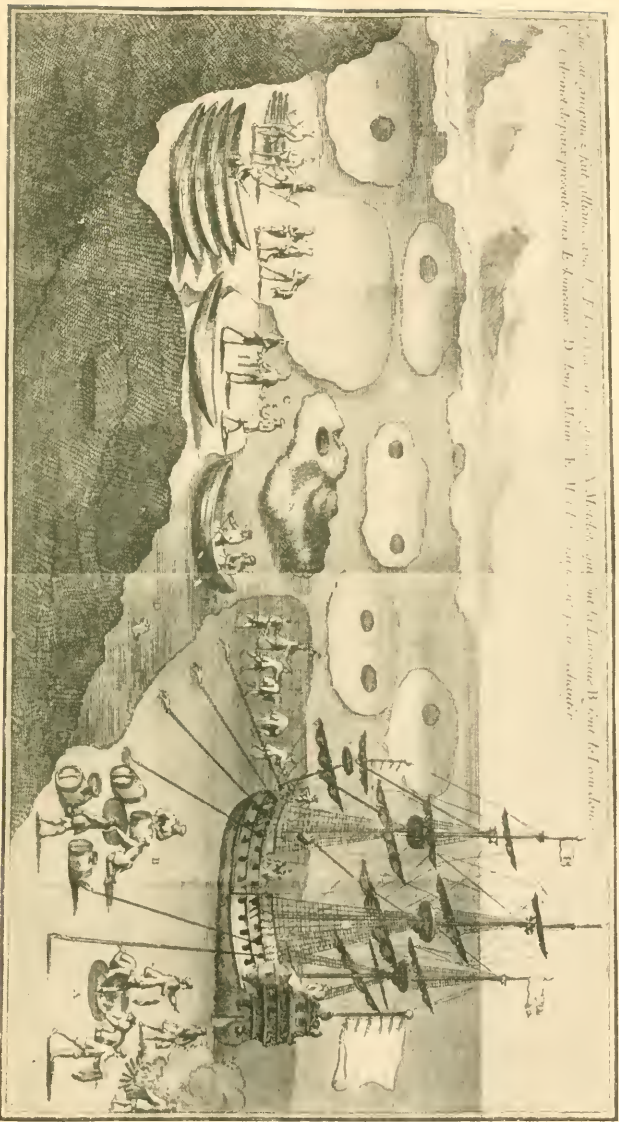
tion was stiff and white like a monument. Worse than all, the other ships of the fleet had disappeared. With considerable anxiety Iberville grappled the ice and waited many days for the consorts. The crew spent the time in hunting and fishing and trading with the Esquimaux. At length, thinking the other ships must have passed and would be awaiting him, the Commander gave up hope and sailed, arriving on September 5 before Fort Nelson; but he found no trace of his fleet.

Two days later three vessels were sighted in the offing which seemed to be the rest of the squadron. Amid universal joy the flags of welcome were hoisted, but the ships gave no response and came on under full sail in deadly silence. This strange behavior, though soon explained, caused much perplexity. They were three English ships, and they had met the *Profond* in the Straits and, as Iberville afterward learned from prisoners, two of them, the *Hudson's Bay* and the *Dering*, attacked her as she lay fastened in the ice. For six hours the cannonading was continued, but when the ice broke up the *Profond* sailed off, though the English were convinced she could not float long.

The English fleet was made up of the *Hampshire*, fifty-two guns and one hundred and fifty men, the *Dering*, thirty guns and one hundred men, and the *Hudson's Bay*, an armed merchantman of thirty-two guns, in all one hundred and fourteen guns and about

three hundred and fifty men, to oppose which the *Pelican* had her fifty guns and one hundred and fifty men. Iberville was thus caught between the fort and the English fleet, but his stout heart never failed. With full appreciation of his danger he made no effort to evade the issue. He says, "Seeing they were English, I prepared to fight them." His ship had been under way to meet his friends, and she continued on her course to meet the enemy. The batteries were manned high and low, his young brother De Bienville having a responsible post on the more exposed and dangerous upper tier. La Potherie, St. Martin, and the most experienced men were placed on the forward deck, while Iberville took his station near the pilot to direct all. He recognized at once that this would be a fight to the death, that he or the English must yield, and he was determined that it should not be he. Since the enemy was numerically stronger in ships, guns, and men, he resolved to board at the first opportunity rather than fight the fleet as the centre of a circle of fire. As he directed his ship toward the *Hampshire*, his well-known blonde hair and martial figure enabled the English to recognize him, and they cried triumphantly, "You shall not escape us this time." The cries and hurrahs were then redoubled. It was a dramatic moment. The excitement became intense. Iberville advanced steadily, his face calm except for his sparkling eyes that flashed encouragement to his watchful crew.

See an engraving of the Pelican, and the other ships, in the Hudson's Bay Company's Magazine, 1741, p. 100. A. M. 1741. The Pelican, and the other ships, in the Hudson's Bay Company's Magazine, 1741, p. 100.



IBERVILLE'S SHIP, THE PELICAN, IMPRISONED IN THE ICE OF HUDSON STRAITS

(From La Poherie)

As soon as the *Hampshire* got the range, she delivered her broadside; but the guns were discharged as the ship rose with the wave so that most of the balls flew high and injured the rigging, but some struck the hull and the pumps were manned. "Prepare to board" signalled Iberville, and the men of the *Pelican* crouched low behind the bulwarks, each jealously calculating his chance to be the first on the enemy's ship. As the vessels rapidly approached each other, the captain of the *Hampshire* took alarm at the situation, and fearing he would be overcome in single contest, swung his sails and avoided the encounter. Iberville lost not an instant, but directed his ship between the other two hostile vessels. In passing he delivered a thundering broadside at the *Dering* with his starboard battery and sent his port broadside into the *Hudson's Bay*. Then he followed after the *Hampshire*, which, seeing him engaged with her consorts, had returned to the fray. The *Dering* and the *Hudson's Bay* were badly crippled, the rigging cut, the sails full of holes, the cannon overturned, and the wounded numerous.

Meanwhile Iberville, seeing his fate accomplished if the three got together, drove straight down on the *Hampshire*. The English fleet in battle line was now firing broadside after broadside. The *Pelican* was badly crippled, but none of her company so far had been injured. The *Hampshire*, seeing the futility of the cannon fire, at length decided

to board, but reserved her broadside for close range. With rare skill Iberville had at all times kept the weather gauge, and the *Hampshire*, failing to get to the windward, now returned full speed upon the *Pelican*, which was imitating every manœuvre. The vessels finally came side to side. The crisis had come. When they were within pistol shot of each other and rapidly drifting closer, the *Hampshire* fired her broadside, which again went high. The ships now swung together, yard arm to yard arm, before Iberville replied. He aimed his guns low to hull his antagonist, and so successfully that the vessel sailed only a few fathoms and then went down with all on board, her sails still spread and her flags fluttering in the wind.

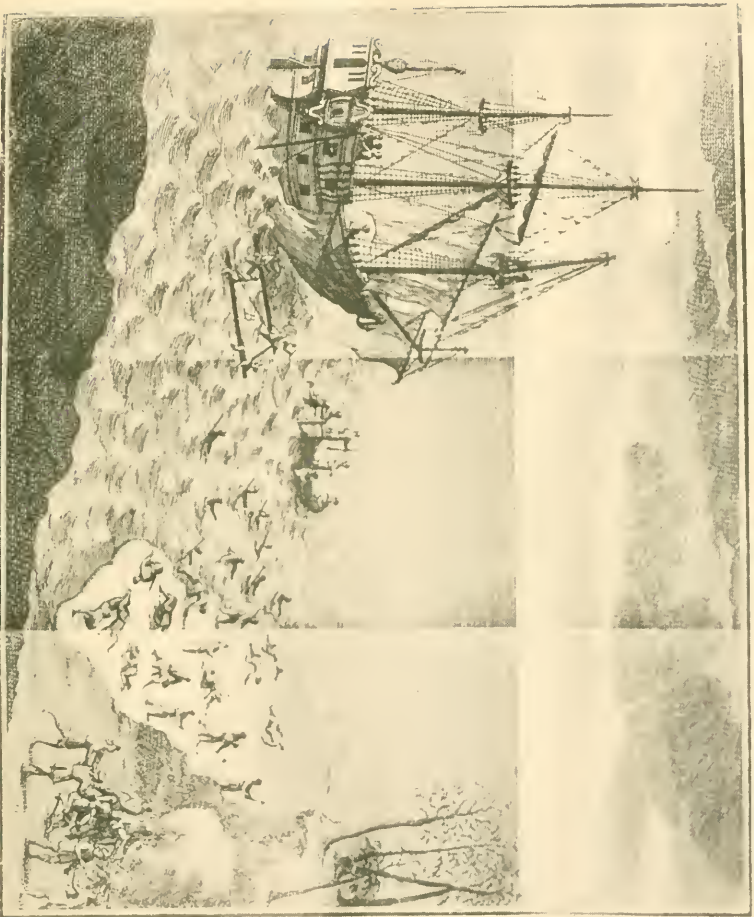
This disaster was as swift and unexpected as its effect upon the English was decisive. Stunned by the grewsome tragedy, they thought no more of resistance, and for some minutes the other ships lurched about on the weltering sea in apparent stupefaction. The *Dering*, recovering herself first, fired a broadside and fled, but the *Hudson's Bay*, being too badly crippled to flee, hauled down her flag. An officer and twenty-five men took possession. The battle had continued for three and one-half hours. It had been conclusive, and on board the *Pelican* there was but one dead and only seventeen wounded. The ship, however, was so badly cut up that the pursuit of the *Dering* failed. New perils now threatened the

ship. Although it was early in September, the cold was intense, and during the battle clouds had gathered thickly; a great storm arose which soon became a terrific blizzard. The ship encased in snow and ice staggered heavily before the gale. The desolation among the sick and wounded was fearful. Wilder and wilder raged the tempest, and about seven o'clock the rudder was swept away. To avoid being driven ashore the anchor was dropped, but the cable parted like thread. Then the ship was hurled against a sand bar, where, battered by the great seas she could not resist, her seams opened, and by morning she began to sink. The shore could be seen a few miles away, and Iberville, composed and resourceful, determined to abandon the vessel. Since most of the boats had been shot away, he made rafts of the spars and wrecked masts, and putting the wounded on board they were paddled and pushed to shore by the others, partly swimming and partly wading. The cold was so extreme that of the two hundred who made the passage to shore, eighteen perished from exposure. For twelve hours they had battled with the English and the elements without pause for food or desire to eat. Their exhaustion was complete. Some who reached shore barely alive had to be dragged by their stronger companions into such shelter as could be had. Great fires were built and, though lightly clad, the men were much relieved. Food, however, was lacking,

but with wise forethought Iberville had saved his powder and now sent out the best hunters for game. The ground was covered deep with snow and the men were not successful.

The landing had been made about two leagues from the fort, and this spot affording apparently a brief respite from death was named Camp de Grace. Being unable to guard the prisoners, seventeen of those taken on the *Hudson's Bay* escaped to the fort, and the French constantly expected the warm and well-fed English would descend upon them in the midst of their other misfortunes and utterly destroy them. As their sufferings became more acute, it was determined to risk all in one last assault upon the fort rather than perish in the snow and ice. The camp was moved across an intervening marsh to a point about half a league from the post. This marsh, says La Potherie, was so difficult that "horses could not drag themselves through it."

In this emergency Iberville's star shone forth brightly, and the rest of the squadron now appeared bringing food, clothing, and munitions of war. Amid general rejoicing the camp was again moved up to within cannon-shot of the fort and named Camp Bourbon. The men were landed from the ships and a summons sent to the English. With full knowledge of the desperate condition of the French, the garrison cherished the hope that Iberville especially had perished. So when his messenger was led into the fort



WRECK OF THE PELICAN AND ESCAPE OF THE SHIP'S COMPANY TO THE SHORE
AFTER BATTLE OF HUDSON BAY

(From *Les Pecheur*)

with bandaged eyes to bring the summons, one of the Governor's staff counselled delay, at any rate until it could be learned definitely whether the Commander had been lost. Upon this advice the Governor refused to capitulate. The batteries were then erected about two hundred yards from the fort, mortars and bombs were brought up, and the bombardment began. As the ramparts were broken down by the shells, the Canadians gave the shrill "Sassa Kouès" of the Iroquois and dashed forward until repulsed by the English musketry. Fort Nelson, manned and ruled by servants of the Company, was a palisaded fort and furnished but slight protection against cannon. A new battery was begun on the undefended northern side, and the French were hacking at the palisades in true Indian fashion when a flag of truce appeared. Bailey, more courageous or better supported than Sargeant at Albany, had been summoned three times, but he did not surrender until he got honorable terms. The garrison then capitulated and was permitted to march out with honors of war.

In this brief campaign Iberville had conquered the English fleet, mastered the English fort, and triumphed over Nature herself in fierce conflict. He had gained a well-earned renown which even the English acknowledged, although, in a quaint effort at mystification, Oldmixon, referring to this contest, dismisses it as follows: "The *Hampshire* frigate and *Owner's Love*, a fire ship, two of the

King's ships, were lost in this Bay [Hudson] and all the men drowned. Indeed, the ice renders it so dangerous that commerce seems not to be worth the risk run for it. Whether those two ships ran against the frozen mountains that float in that sea or foundered is not known, but it is certain they were lost and that all the men perished."

The campaign had made the French complete masters of the Bay with all its vast wealth. The savages came in throngs to trade. Serigny was given command of the post, which office he retained until the following year, when he turned the forts over to his cousin Martigny and sailed for France. The appearances would indicate that finally the Bay had become permanently and positively French, but this too was an illusion. While Iberville was battering at the walls of Nelson, the French and English commissioners had concluded the Peace of Ryswick, September 20, 1697, according to the terms of which Fort Albany would revert to the Hudson's Bay Company in the restoration of the *status quo*. While this was the only fort they retained, it nevertheless gave them their foothold on the Bay, a position which they did not hesitate to improve. This situation, on the whole so unfortunate for the English company, was maintained with more or less success until fifteen years later, when the Peace of Utrecht restored the entire region to England, and the Hudson's Bay Company, which had held grimly to

its precarious position throughout the entire period, then reaped an abundant reward. As an indication of the value of the prize for which the rivals were contending, it is well to state that during this period of raid and warfare the English, while suffering heavily, were enabled nevertheless to pay dividends of fifty per cent on the capital stock of the Company in 1688 and 1689 and twenty-five per cent in 1690 on stock that had been trebled.

It was now September 24, 1697, and, though late in the season, Iberville took the *Profond*, manned by the crew of the sunken *Pelican* and many of the prisoners, and left for France. The sun getting closer and closer to the horizon made observations difficult, while the growing darkness impeded navigation. Scurvy, the disease of sloth and uncleanness, the scourge of the seas and especially of the Arctic region, became epidemic, and many died. After passing the Straits the ship made good progress, and on November 23 Iberville sailed into the harbor of Rochelle and made official report to the great Pontchartrain, worthy successor of Colbert, who was now to be induced to consider the idea of territorial expansion along lines suggested by La Salle, Iberville, and others. These northern conflicts, to be sure, were but "episodes"; as Parkman says, "In Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, the issues of the war were unimportant compared with whether France or England should be mistress

of the West, that is, the whole interior of the Continent."

The English colonies were rooted in the soil of the Atlantic seaboard, and living by trade and agriculture they felt no impulse and found little or no reason for plunging into the forests beyond the Alleghanies, besides which they were disunited and jealous of one another and of the Crown, and they could not be guided toward a world policy for which they felt no need.

In Canada, however, the people lived by the fur trade, and their character was developed in conformity with the adventurous and roving life which this pursuit demanded, while the control of the home Government was such that the entire colony could be mobilized in a moment for any particular purpose. The English colonies grew by slow extension, rooting firmly as they spread, while the other sent long offshoots with few or no roots far out into the wilderness. The fundamental difference between the colonies is well illustrated by the farewell speech of Duquesne to the Iroquois on his retirement from office, in which he says: "Go, see the forts our King has planted, and you will see that you can still hunt under their very walls; they are placed for your advantage in the places you frequent. The English, on the contrary, are no sooner in possession of a place than the game is driven away. The forest falls as they advance, and

the soil is laid bare so that you scarce can find shelter for the night."

The great French scheme of territorial expansion was not born at Court, but on Canadian soil, and in the minds of those colonial leaders, like Iberville, who saw the vast possibilities of the situation and generally had a personal interest in realizing them. The idea of territorial aggrandizement by colonization recurred more and more frequently to the active brain of Iberville, during the next few months, but the germ had been planted during those early adventurous days on Hudson Bay, those days of toil and hardship and concentrated effort.

Thus Iberville, the indefatigable, with an uninterrupted series of victories behind him, doubtless made many plans for the future as he winged his way to France. Larger and larger his horizon had grown; more and more often he had taken his prizes and his rapidly increasing fame to France and the King instead of to Quebec and the Governor. Now at the age of thirty-six the young Canadian had become the most skilful and one of the most prominent commanders in the Royal Navy. "Norman ancestry had struggled against his Canadian instincts and training, but the Norman won and he cast his lot with the King's ships." He had swept Hudson Bay free of the enemy, and for ten years he had despoiled the English traders with never flagging zeal and caused them a total loss, as they admit,

of £190,000. He had turned all this booty into the little needy colonies on the St. Lawrence, he had safeguarded the northern frontiers of New France for many years to come, he had given his country a magnificent pawn to play in the political game at Ryswick, and he had demonstrated the able and brilliant qualities of his leadership. Whether spurred by ambition, or by love of adventure, or by the hope of the abundant booty which he obtained, his career had been one of constant success against the enemies of his country. "Episodes" they doubtless were, yet they serve even better than larger and more confusing dramas to exhibit the fortitude and dauntless resolution of the principal actor therein, as step by step he advances in the execution of his life-long purpose to abase the English. His character and ambitions became crystallized. He personified at this time in the highest degree the antagonism of New France toward the English, their methods and their apparent destiny. What the French colonists vaguely felt, he not only felt but appreciated mentally; what the French Government and the Governors of New France, save only Frontenac, did not perceive, he had analyzed, and with his high intelligence recognized the remedy which possibly he alone could apply.

Whatever he may have thought and planned in his teeming brain, it probably did not occur to him that he was leaving his beloved Canada forever,

that his white sails when spread again would take him to another part of the great new continent and bring him new fame, new honor, and an early death in a remote portion of that realm to which he consecrated his life in a fruitless effort to affix it permanently to the Crown of France. Yet it so happened. Almost on the anniversary of his arrival at Rochelle, Frontenac died (November 22, 1698), and this event together with the Peace of Ryswick seemed to diminish his chance of acquiring more honor in Canada, where indeed he was idolized not less for the gallantry of his exploits against the English than for the commercial prosperity that followed them. He now tendered his services to Pontchartrain and requested a much sought for assignment. Long toil and endurance had calmed the adventurous enthusiasm of his youth into a steadfast earnestness of purpose. His extraordinary career of dash, daring, and adventure now merged in his maturer years into the expansive and elaborately constructive designs of the statesman.

CHAPTER VIII

LOUISIANA AND THE MISSISSIPPI

AMONG the heights of the Mesaba Mountains in northern Minnesota lies a spot upon which one can place one arm of a pair of compasses and with the other extended to a radius of fifty miles can draw a circle which will include the watersheds of three of the largest and most important river-basins of North America. In this little area rise the rivers leading to Hudson Bay, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Gulf of Mexico. From the lower St. Lawrence, always distinctively French, the energetic Du Luth* followed up that great highway through the Great Lakes and planted posts at Detroit, Thunder Bay in Lake Superior, and Lake Nepigon. La Salle stretched out from Fort Frontenac to Mackinac Island and Green Bay, and attached the Sacs, Foxes, and the Mascoutins to the other faithful allies, then passing down to the foot

* Daniel Greysolon Du Luth, "king of the *coureurs de bois*," had been an officer in the French army. Coming to Canada before 1674, he set out four years later on an expedition to the Sioux country and remained in the Northwest over twelve years, exploring, trading, and winning the Indians to France. In 1699 he was commandant at Fort Frontenac, and died in 1710.

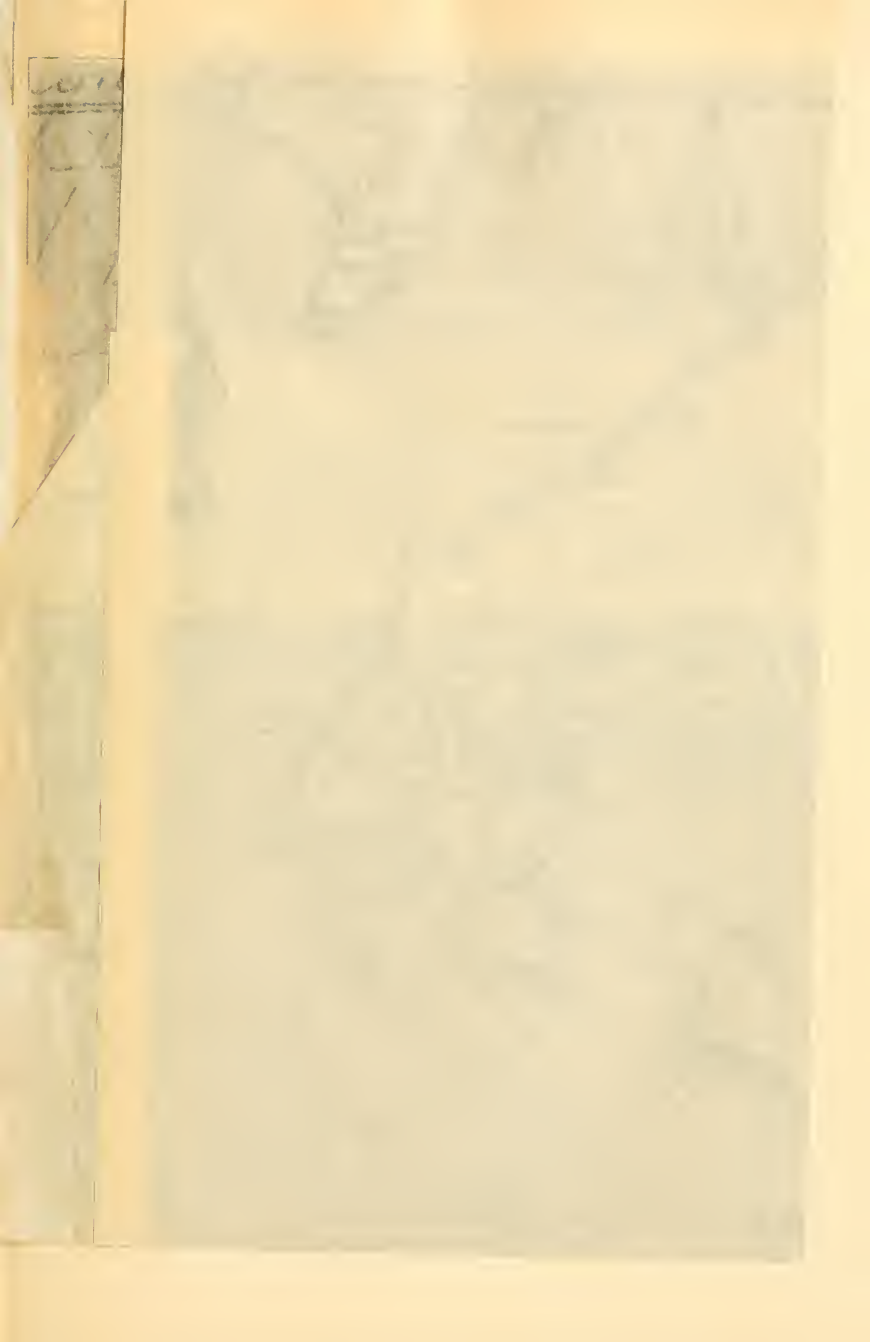
of Lake Michigan to the St. Joseph and Chicago portages, he secured the Miamis, which, with the Illinois tribe obtained with the assistance of Henri de Tonty, brought the entire St. Lawrence basin under the wing of France.

It has been shown how the incessant activity of Iberville had brought Hudson Bay and all its tributaries into French control, although the English Company still held by a hair to those precarious claims which the treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht were destined to confirm and enlarge. Two vast basins were already secured. The great design of hemming in the English colonies grew apace. The struggle for the enormous wealth of the river valleys was fairly inaugurated. The third and greatest was the Mississippi. This was discovered by Dé Soto in 1541, and its turbid flood became the midnight grave of the great Spaniard. His frightened followers, reduced to one-half the original number, then fled in their frail brigantines down its channel, running the gantlet of hostile tribes from a wilderness that promised only misery and death. From its mouth they sailed westward along the shore of the Gulf until they found a welcome haven at Panuco River in the little Spanish settlement of New Spain, where Tampico now stands. They brought back such stories of hardships and disaster, of Indian opposition and of starvation, that the discovery remained not only unutilized but more and

more obscure with every passing year of the subsequent century.

On the early Spanish maps the Great River is indistinguishable from the other affluents of the Gulf. Even its existence was doubted by many, while its course and mouth were absolutely unknown. Rumors, however, of the great river in the Sioux country came ever more frequently to the ears of the French Jesuits, as between the years 1641 and 1658 they extended their pilgrimages farther and farther into the interior, so that gradually there developed a strong curiosity to know more of this "Hidden River" and the regions through which it took its mysterious flow. Whither did it lead those fabulous waters? Was its mouth in China, Japan, or Mexico, in the South Sea or the Sea of Virginia? One hundred and thirty years after De Soto the upper waters were again revealed to Joliet and to the fragile but devoted Jesuit Marquette when one morning in June, while "the mist hung on the Wisconsin River like a bridal veil and slowly melted in the sun," they pushed their bark canoes through its wide mouth into the whirling eddies of the Mississippi (1673).

Then came the great La Salle, and before 1684 the Father of Waters was newly explored. French forts were planted upon two of its large tributaries, the Ohio and the Illinois, its course determined, and its waters followed to their ultimate discharge in the Gulf





PORTION OF DE LISLE'S MAP, 1700

(Original in possession of Chicago Historical Society)

- Shows (a) the strip of country on the Atlantic coast possessed by the English; (b) French names of forts of Hudson's Bay Company on Hudson Bay; (c) the situation of the Iroquois with reference to Canada; (d) the route of Iberville from Montreal to Hudson Bay via Lake Abithibi; (e) chief points of interest in the Newfoundland campaign; (f) the location of Pemaquid and Acadian settlements; (g) the mouth of the Mississippi River according to Iberville's exploration; (h) Florida as claimed by the Spanish



of Mexico. La Salle had carefully taken the latitude of the mouth with his astrolabe; but at that time instruments did not exist for the accurate determination of longitude, and such means as they had could not be easily transported. This calculation would have made his final journey a triumph and preserved his life. Leaving Henri de Tonty to maintain Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River* and Fort Prudhomme on the Mississippi,† La Salle returned to Canada from the Gulf by way of the Great Lakes, and projected the scheme of locating the mouth of the Mississippi by the sea route. He recognized that by judiciously placing colonies along the course of the river this immense basin also could be added to the others as a jewel in the Crown of France. This was the object of that final voyage when he missed the long arm of the Delta by sailing too far west and then entered and established a post upon St. Louis Bay (Matagorda Bay). From this point he began that fruitless quest that led to his premature and distressing end on the plains of Texas on March 19, 1687. His death left the location of the mouth of the Mississippi undecided and in a state of obscurity which the fictitious narrative of Father Hennepin only increased.

* At Starved Rock, near Utica, Ill., where a band of the Illini took refuge and were starved to death while besieged by their enemies the Pottowattomies.

† Fort Prudhomme was located near the present village of Tiptonville, Tennessee.

The solution of this problem was an exploit worthy of the most ambitious, since many were watching with anxious eyes for another glimpse of that clear white light which La Salle for an instant only had flashed upon the expectant world. The map-makers and geographers with scientific problems to settle paused, compass in hand, impatient to fill the great gaps of the unknown on their charts. The friends of La Salle were eager for such reports as would vindicate his name and enable them to defend him from the attacks of his enemies, who in turn were also waiting to destroy if possible even his memory. Besides these who waited with unconcealed yearnings, there were military and trading adventurers of all nationalities who were watching with rapacious hands for the information that would further their personal and usually venal ambitions.

Above all sat the triad of hostile Governments striving for possession of Colonial America. On the one side was grim, suspicious Spain, silent and secretive, steel-clad master of Mexico, deeply distrustful of France and jealously watching the domain she could not occupy. In her Colonial Bureau headed by the Junta she was hiding her movements with the utmost stealth behind the shadow of her former grandeur.

On the other was alert, thick-skinned England, never blind to commercial advantages nor sensitive to the rights of priority in others. She acknowledged her interests to be entirely financial, and dif-

ferred from the others who had the same aims only in her brutal frankness and her willingness to concede a fact which excessive vanity and inordinate conceit inspired the Latins to call by another name. William of Orange, emaciated and asthmatic, dying but inflexible, had also to serve the interests of his disbanded army and the expatriated Huguenots, but was ready at all times to throw himself headlong across the path of France.

France, with grandiloquent claims to everything everywhere, was still ruled by Louis XIV, who, whatever other deficiencies he possessed, certainly never overlooked a French pretension.* In the case of Louisiana, however, France could present no better title than might be derived from the voyage of Verrazzano and the vague traditions of Breton adventurers. Each furtively watched the other, but none made the eventful decision which would ultimately solve the problem.

France was aroused first through the associated enthusiasms of Vauban, Pontchartrain, and Iberville. La Salle had made his reports to Seignay, the Minister of Marine, who in turn had relinquished his office to Louis Pontchartrain, hardly a worthy successor to the great colony-maker, Colbert. Young Jerome Pontchartrain was assisting his father. He was a pupil of Vauban,† carefully educated travelled,

* *Vide* King's "Iberville on the Mississippi."

† Renowned as military engineer and Marshal of France.

and trained for a ministerial career. He had developed large views regarding colonial interests of France and clear, honest ones of his own. He could at least appreciate the great possibilities of the New World as presented by La Salle and Iberville, even if he was not entirely converted to their far-sighted projects. He is described as a cool, cautious, clear-headed man who took no chances, nor gave any, when playing for success. He was a passionate reader and passionate admirer of all heroic adventures on the high seas and in the unknown wilderness from which he was personally debarred by his feeble physique. Such a man might feel a warm sympathy and admiration for the gallant figure of Iberville, and it was to him that this intrepid commander repaired to make his report and to apply for this much desired quest when on the high tide of his prosperous career he sailed his ship into the harbor of Rochelle.

It was during Iberville's first incursion upon the English on Hudson Bay that La Salle had perished by the hand of an assassin, and during the next ten years, while Iberville was sweeping the English crumbs from the French tapestry which he was weaving in the Arctic regions, the project of La Salle for planting a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi had slept in the minds of the ministers.

“The young Le Moynes felt that, with the death of Frontenac and the Peace of Ryswick, the days of romance

and adventure had ended in Canada; that for the time being at least diplomacy was to succeed daring, and thoughts of trade were to take the place of plans for the capture of New York and Boston. To them the possibility of collision with the Spanish or English was an inducement rather than a drawback. Here perhaps in the exploration on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, courage and audacity might find those rewards and honors for which the opportunity was fast disappearing in Canada." *

With such alluring possibilities Iberville felt that he too could easily leave barren, frozen Canada and lead France and civilization into the valley of the Mississippi. Moreover he fully believed that in this way, and this way only, the slow, ponderous, but inevitable march of the English could be checked. He would out-manceuvre them and establish a line of posts in their rear. In addition he greatly desired the new assignment for personal reasons, since, as he wrote the King, he was "tired of conquering the Bay of Hudson."

Animated by such sentiments and supported by his strong personality, the enthusiasm of Iberville attracted the attention and overcame the reserve of the King, whose imagination also was captivated by the grandeur of the scheme which the young conqueror put before him in glowing colors. France had anticipated the English in possession of the upper waters of the river, and if she could establish

* Winsor.

herself at the mouth she could control the entire valley. The idea of mines, as valuable as those of Spain in Mexico, also whetted the greed of the King and awakened the needy Cabinet to the point of action. Louvigny, Tonty, Manthet and Rémonville each had sought this command, but none had the qualities to compel a decision. Captain of Frigates since 1691, Iberville possessed in the highest degree the confidence of the Minister, who recognized his devotion and energy and who was in search of one who combined the skill of a navigator with the spirit and courage of a warrior. As no one else so fully answered the requirements, Iberville was now charged to undertake and finish the interrupted plans of La Salle. At first the King had no intention of colonizing at the mouth of the river, as a letter of Pontchartrain's shows, and much less did he purpose to plant colonies along its course, but desired only to complete the discovery and by building a fort to prevent the English from taking possession. For aside from the drain on the treasury, already exhausted by his European wars and the building of Versailles, the opposition of the King to settlements in the interior was due to the feeling that it removed them too far from his paternal control.

Iberville took his new responsibility with his habitual earnestness and resolution. His preparations were begun at once and continued as actively

as thoroughness would permit. The world was scoured to secure every map that could in any way aid the navigation, and all pamphlets, "relations," and books of voyages that concerned that region were speedily collected. His library in this respect might have been very complete, but it was not large. There was Zenobe Membre's account of the La Salle expedition to be found in Le Clerc's "Établissement de la Foi," Hennepin's plagiarism of the same, and a "Relation" said to be by Tonty, which he personally disowned to Iberville later. Marquette's Relation and also Hennepin's, alas! were among the first he obtained. Joutel, the companion of La Salle and the historian of his last expedition, surfeited with its hardships, declined to join Iberville, but sent instead the journal of his journey with La Salle, including also that of his return to Canada by way of the Illinois River and the Great Lakes. This was very detailed and for the regions covered could well serve as a guide. Iberville recalled too a conversation with La Salle wherein the explorer had told him that while there was a good depth of water at the mouth of the Mississippi, the current was whitish, claylike in color, and carried much debris. As an additional precaution he endeavored as far as possible to enlist the men who had sailed in those waters, and chose his officers too with the utmost care. His first and most fortunate choice was his young brother Le Moyne de Bienville, destined to

be his most valuable aid and the main reliance of the new colony for forty years.

Having considered the expedition in its many aspects, Iberville in a letter to the Minister explained his plan of operation in detail. From what he had learned he thought the Mississippi ran through Louisiana, the name given to that portion of the country watered by the Mississippi below the mouth of the Illinois, that territory which La Salle had added to the Crown seventeen years before, and, if that was so, it would be highly important to plant a colony on the river, as all that country was of extreme value. On the voyage he purposed to stop at San Domingo for four or five days for water and supplies and to secure such additional information as might be had. Here too he would leave his sick, if any, and sailing thence he intended to explore the country west of the Florida Cape and especially the rivers as far as the Bay St. Esprit (Mobile), where he would rendezvous the vessels. From this point, which is only one hundred leagues from the Bay of St. Louis (Matagorda) where La Salle made his colony, he would enter and explore all rivers entering the Gulf. He intended also to send an expedition to search for news of La Salle's Frenchmen, and if any could be found they would have learned the Indian language, and by attaching them to the expedition they could help in finding the river. He also projected a settlement for Bay

St. Louis if he found that more beautiful and advantageous than St. Esprit. From this latter place he intended to send back such ships as he did not need, and since many things occur on such a voyage that cannot be foreseen he wished his hands to be free and he therefore asked for "general orders."

Again, on June 18, 1698, he wrote Pontchartrain that he had advices from London which informed him that the English were preparing to establish a trading post on the Mississippi, and he suggested a corvette mounting eight or ten guns to defend his discoveries. He stated that if he met the English in those waters he would try to turn them aside or capture them, for knowing them as he did he had no doubt they would dispute the territory.

The Minister in his final instructions, after compliments on his previous career and expressions of confidence, directed Iberville to find the mouth of the river, to choose a place for a colony well situated for defence, and to take soundings along the coast and make charts of the same. Should he meet with vessels of other nations, it would be his duty to oblige them to retire from his waters. He was also informed that Chasteaumorant would be detailed to accompany him as guard with an additional ship.

From the eager correspondence of the time is revealed much of the intense interest which Pont-

chartrain and Begon, the Intendant at Rochefort, took in the arrangements which Iberville was making, as well as the latter's great enthusiasm. But all these preparations were not made without opposition, and while Iberville had conducted his affairs as secretly * as possible for political reasons, yet there were many who for the same reason became informed. Among them was Beaujeu,† the man who commanded the ships of La Salle's expedition and who was a source of constant annoyance, distrust, and anxiety to La Salle. From La Salle this meddlesome hostility was now transferred to Iberville by Beaujeu, who, jealous of the entire expedition, opposed with particular bitterness the idea of colonization. Beaujeu was an irritable old veteran whose pride had been hurt that he should be made to serve under La Salle. Besides differences in temperament, social distinctions, and mental irreconcilability, La Salle was suspicious of the influence of Beaujeu's wife, who was warmly devoted to the Jesuits. Lack-

* While outfitting the *Marin* and *Badine*, Iberville let it be understood that the expedition was directed toward the Amazon River.

† Count de Beaujeu, who bears much of the blame for La Salle's disaster, was a naval officer of distinction. At the battle of La Hague he commanded the *St. Louis*, which carried Marshal Count de Tourville. His nephew commanded the French force which defeated Braddock. Joutel and Cavalier both attribute the ruin of La Salle's hopes to the perverse management of the ships under the command of Beaujeu. When Iberville returned from his successful quest for the mouth of the Mississippi, Beaujeu was so vexed that he refused to meet him.

ing the tact of Iberville in his relations with Brouillon, La Salle endeavored to beat down opposition by sheer force. Quarrel succeeded quarrel and temperament rasped temperament, until nothing could be done by either that was not an annoyance to the other, and each more than suspected that the other was crazy. La Salle, frail and ill, the conscious bearer of a great message which he alone saw, could with difficulty support the irritating presence of Beaujeu while the latter in turn made his presence as vexatious as possible. Throughout the journey he was irascible, captious, and insubordinate, besides which his judgment was much influenced by the prevailing dread of Spain, and in his letters to the Minister Beaujeu shows constant apprehension of the Spaniards and their preponderating force in the waters of the Caribbean Sea. Spain to him seemed to be a kind of demon, horribly malevolent but withal most sagacious and powerful. Joutel's narrative states that before reaching Matagorda a discussion arose about the position of the ships, and La Salle ordered Beaujeu to sail back eastward and search for the mouth of the Mississippi, which the latter refused to do. It was also believed that he intentionally ran the store ship *Aimable* on a reef at the mouth of the bay and wrecked her. Upon leaving La Salle Beaujeu told him that he should coast along the northern shore of the Gulf until he reached Bay St. Esprit (Mobile), and would wait there until

April; but after breasting the adverse winds for two days he changed his mind and sailed direct to Cuba. Such was the man who now with envy and jealousy opposed the designs of Iberville, while that commander was working night and day to prepare his ships and load them for the voyage.

CHAPTER IX

PENSACOLA

IT was intended to be not only a voyage of discovery but also a colonizing expedition, not only to locate definitely the mouth of the Mississippi but in case others were found in possession forcibly to drive them away. The preparations must therefore be varied to meet any emergency. The ships not only carried munitions of war, but sheep, pigs, cattle, and poultry for the colony; not only soldiers for battle, but hunters and artisans for the settlement, and all must be fed on shipboard. In addition to the usual crews and the soldiers, as many as possible of the Canadians were enlisted as supernumeraries. Besides the material for war and for the colony, the usual specialties for the Indian trade, such as kettles, hatchets, knives, beads, mirrors, etc., were taken aboard. No emergency could be foreseen that Iberville did not make careful preparation to meet. Impatient as he was to be gone and frequently urged thereto by the more impatient Minister, the Commander refused to be hurried into action until all the preliminaries of the voyage were properly adjusted.

The arrangements were finally completed, and leaving Rochelle on September 5, Iberville went

to Brest, from which he sailed on October 24, 1698, with two small frigates, the *Badine*, thirty guns, and the *Marin*, thirty guns, together with two transports, or *traversiers*, heavily laden with additional supplies and the stores for six months. The *Badine* he commanded himself, while the *Marin* was in charge of Sieur de Surgères, an officer in whom he reposed great confidence. They followed as nearly as possible the route of Columbus by way of the Madeiras, and after a stormy voyage in which one of the transports disappeared, they arrived at San Domingo in a little less than six weeks. Some days later the missing transport also reached port uninjured. Here too they were met by Chasteaumorant, a nephew of the great Tourville, who was to accompany the expedition with his frigate, the *François*, of fifty guns. During the short delay in this port the crew suffered much from the change of diet and from the deadly tropical fevers which seemed especially to affect the Canadians. Some died and many sick had to be left behind. Fortunately Iberville was able to replace his men with filibusters, to whom as a class he was very partial.

He spent the major portion of his stay in San Domingo trying to secure more certain or at least additional information of the Gulf of Mexico and especially of the river. The Spaniards with whom he talked represented the Gulf as a perfect hell on account of the sudden squalls, but they professed

entire ignorance regarding any river. The country was entirely unknown. However, he obtained here a chart from M. de Brach, head of the colony, which was much better than the Spanish chart furnished by the Minister. Fortunately, too, he secured at this port the services of Laurent de Graff, one of the last of the famous buccaneers of the seventeenth century, formerly an associate of Morgan and now the captain of a light frigate. This man knew all the coast and currents as far as the entrance to the Gulf thoroughly. He had also been to Vera Cruz at a time when he was one of the leaders of an expedition that had captured that city and exacted a heavy ransom. While he had never explored the northern shore of the Gulf he once had employed a Spanish pilot who had told him about a beautiful harbor fifty or sixty leagues from Apalachicola, where the Spanish went for masts when necessary and where the Governor had given orders that other nations should not be allowed to establish themselves, but the latitude and longitude of this place he had forgotten. According to his calculations this harbor ought to be almost due north of the place where the fleet entered the Gulf. Iberville resolved to explore this region thoroughly, and in any case, as he assured the Minister in a letter from San Domingo, he would find the mouth and ascend the river in boats and canoes with thirty or forty men as far as seemed best.

The casks were now refilled with water, the flour made up into biscuits, the longboats unpacked and mounted, the sails repaired, and the ships carefully overhauled. Soon it was necessary to terminate quickly all these preparations, for, having heard that four English men-of-war had been reported at San Domingo sailing west on a colonizing expedition, the Commander concluded they were bound for the Mississippi and hastened his departure. Leaving San Domingo on January 1, 1699, the fleet made sail along the southern coast of Cuba, rounded Cape St. Antoine, entered the Gulf, and laid the ships on their course with the intent of striking that fine harbor of which De Graff had spoken. According to their calculations this harbor should be found on the coast almost due north of the point where the ships entered the Gulf. Nothing unusual was observed until January 23, when in the afternoon land was sighted. Iberville signalled the squadron to crowd on all sail until sunset, whereupon they came so close to the coast that the red glare of burning prairies could be seen, and the next day the long shore line of northern Florida appeared running low and white from east to west. They were almost due south of Apalachicola Bay and anchored for the night off Cape San Blas. The next morning the ships moved slowly along to the west, keeping outside in safe water, while Lieutenant Lescalette in the longboat crept along

near the shore. The days were spent in careful observation of the coast, in scanning river mouths, and in taking soundings as they crawled along mile after mile. Every night they came to anchor when the guns of the *Badine* gave the signal, and every night and morning they cast anxious eyes to the shore to see if any Indians had been attracted by the firing. This method was slow but very certain, and Iberville had no notion of failure through lack of personal attentiveness.

On January 27, 1699, the fleet approached the harbor of Santa Maria de Pensacola de Galvez, and the longboat came out to the ship with news. Not only had a river been discovered and a bay, but also, alas, *shipping*. Iberville was not surprised to learn that masts had been seen in the harbor. Having in mind the English expedition, it at once occurred to him that they had arrived before him. He immediately called a council of the officers on board the flag-ship. While considering the various aspects of the affair, the sun went down in all the magnificence of the tropics, and the great gun of the *Badine* gave the evening salute to the flag and the signal to anchor. The report had hardly died away when a menacing boom came from the ships in the harbor, sullen, distant, and defiant. Darkness came on and with it a dense fog. An unquiet night was spent in ignorance of what the day would bring forth.

CHAPTER X

THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

LIEUTENANT LESCALETTE was sent ashore in the early morning to learn the name and nationality of the unwelcome occupants of the bay. He took with him Le Moyne de Bienville to have charge of the boat, to keep the men from talking, and to find out as much as possible himself. A white flag was flying from one of the masts in the harbor, and a sloop came out far enough to see the French flag and fleet and then hastily retired. Lescalette landed and was conducted to the Governor of the port, while Bienville, pretending to be a subordinate, catechised the loungers at the wharf for unofficial information. They learned that this was a Spanish settlement numbering about two hundred and fifty people which the Spanish had made in 1696 (Barcia), but the French were convinced that the post had been established only four months previous to Iberville's visit, and that, too, with intent to forestall him after learning of his

proposed voyage.* The Governor was Don Andres de la Riola,† and the garrison consisted largely of galley slaves who were mostly in irons. All were short of food. The frigates in the harbor were also Spanish, mounting respectively eighteen and twenty guns, and had stopped in to secure new masts from the forest surrounding the bay. They had thought the French squadron was a Spanish expedition long expected from Vera Cruz, and had fired their guns in welcome. The French fleet, claiming a shortage of water and provisions, desired to enter the harbor, but the Spanish forbade this, as they said the settlement was new and feeble, but offered to send wine and water out to the French. Iberville returned this courtesy by sending in some food as a propitiatory offering, and then on the pretext that he was anxious about his anchorage, he took Surgères and De Graff with him the next morning, and they moved in and carefully took soundings up to the very sides of the Spanish frigates, a proceeding which so alarmed the captain that he offered to lend the French a Spanish pilot to take them to a safe port farther west. Having secured the requisite knowledge of the harbor, the French were now easy to satisfy. Chasteaumorant, who had assumed the command to disguise the object of the expedition, assured the Spaniards that

* Martin also accepts this view in his "History of North Carolina."

† Don Andres de Arriola — *Ensayo Cronologico*.

he was only in search of some Canadians who were supposed to be among the Indians on those shores, and he would continue his quest. He did this with the greater reluctance, as he writes the Minister, since he recognized that he could have driven out or captured the Spanish and seized the harbor with the utmost ease. However, the cat had played with the mouse while thoughtfully analyzing his appetite, and now concluded to let it escape, and, to the great relief of the Spaniards, the French fleet took its slow departure. Moving cautiously along the coast and examining attentively every inlet, the fleet arrived in two days at the bar off Mobile Point which guards the entrance of Mobile Bay. The Spanish pilot whom Don Andres had sent proved to have an excellent and valuable knowledge of the coast so far as concerned the soundings and harbors.

A south wind now sprang up, the storm wind of the Gulf, and no soundings were possible. Squalls and gales, thunder and lightning with torrents of rain, came in tropical abundance from the dark, lowering clouds, while the violent seas drove the fleet into open water. On the sixth of February the weather quieted, and the pass to the Bay was sounded and explored as well as some of the islands near the entrance.

Having seen and heard nothing of the English fleet, Chasteaumorant delicately suggested that his pres-

ence was unnecessary, and it was therefore arranged that the *François* should return to San Domingo. After several days spent in ceremonial visits and mutual expressions of most distinguished consideration, Chasteaumorant put to sea, and the diplomatic Iberville was free from any possibility of that annoyance and danger which the presence of Beaujeu had brought to La Salle.

The Spanish pilot now seemed filled with forebodings and uttered dismal prophecies, while at the same time the boats sent out to examine the shore and islands returned with such contradictory reports that Iberville determined to take Bienville and see for himself. Again a terrific storm came up just after they started, and for three days they were imprisoned on a little island to which they had run for shelter. This island subsequently became the site of a settlement and merits some description. It was about twelve miles long and one and one-half miles wide, and while exploring it they found at the southwest end a huge heap of skulls and bones, mute witnesses to some fiendish Indian raid, or, as Iberville thought, the remains of the ill-fated Spanish expedition of Narvaez. From this they called the place Massacre Island (now Dauphine Island). Game was very abundant, and the Canadians made the most of their opportunity to secure a supply of fresh meat. As soon as the weather had quieted down, Iberville crossed over to the mainland and climbed a tree to

take a bird's-eye observation of the country, but he was rewarded only by a sight of the limitless forest, the great Gulf, and the indentations of Mobile Bay. No break in the forest revealed the channel of a great river cutting its serpentine way to the sea, and no embrasure in the coast line marked the exit of a mighty stream. Continuing his explorations on foot, he found remains of recent Indian encampments, — probably some family that had been fishing on the Gulf. A short period of fine weather now permitted them to finish the soundings of the channel, after which they collected grass for the live stock and returned to the fleet.

Sailing on to the west with a light northwest wind and serene sky, they entered a maze of islands and sandbars; as soon as one disappeared behind, others long and low, white and sandy, appeared ahead, and while in the very midst of them the wind veered suddenly to the south and the Gulf became a boiling caldron. They sought anxiously for shelter, but in vain. As they pressed on, other islands appeared, mere sandbars, bleak and treeless, one to the south and one to the west. They ran to shelter behind the former, which in honor of the recent feast-day they called Chandeleur Island. The boats were then sent out to look for a harbor, and while pursuing this quest they sailed toward the little island north of Chandeleur Island, and another boat reconnoitred the one to the west of that. Landing on this latter, they

found it inhabited by many curious cat-like creatures which suggested the name Cat Island. Thus they made their first acquaintance with that truly American product, the opossum.

The other boat meanwhile had made soundings north of the other island, and after twenty-four hours the party returned with the welcome news that a fine anchorage had been discovered, and the next day responding to signal the fleet moved slowly in and took possession of the harbor of Ship Island. While at anchor here, some of the men fished, while others watched the clouds of wild fowl that flew with hoarse cries over their heads. The appearance of camp-fires on the shore now stirred Iberville to investigate, for he was very anxious to make friends with the Indians. Taking with him in the longboat Father Anastasius Douay,* the former companion of La Salle, they started, Bienville with two Canadians following in a canoe. The distance to shore was about twenty miles; upon landing they found fresh tracks in the sand, and Iberville and his men set out to follow them, while Bienville and the Canadians kept to the water in the canoe. Night fell before the fugitives were overtaken. In the morning they saw the Indians lurking about curiously in the distance, but they fled when pursued, abandoning camp, pi-

* Anastasius Douay, Récollect, accompanied the last expedition of La Salle, and after the leader's death returned to France with Cavalier and Joutel by way of Canada.

rogues, and all their possessions. Iberville finally ran upon a poor old man so crippled from a wound that he could not escape, and him they loaded with presents and made to understand they were friends. Meanwhile Bienville had pursued a party deep into the forest, and whether from fatigue, curiosity, or what, a woman lagged a little and was soon overtaken. She also was kindly treated, and during the night escaped, as the French expected she would, but returned on the next day and brought in her men to the French camp. They were of the Biloxi tribe and knew nothing of the Big River. The calumet was smoked and much ceremonial enacted in arranging a treaty. Leaving Bienville as a hostage, a few of the Indians were taken on board the ships and entertained by firing off the cannon and by furnishing them with brandy, which they were surprised to find remained warm after entering the stomach.

The next day all returned to the mainland, where a new delegation had arrived. They were members of the tribes of the Bayagoulas and Mougoulachas, who lived together on the banks of a large river which they called Malbancia. They had come down on a hunting expedition when, hearing the cannon, they had hurried to the shore to investigate. From their description Iberville concluded that the Malbancia must be the Mississippi. These Indians were greatly interested in the canoe of birch bark and

inquired if the white men had come down the river. Iberville and the chief exchanged presents, and the chief received as the final gift a massive calumet, or peace pipe, the iron bowl being fashioned like a ship and flying the fleur-de-lis. After many ceremonials and protestations of friendship, with much eating, the Indians promised to meet the French in four nights, as by that time they would have finished their hunting and then they would guide them by a short route to their river. The signal agreed upon, a huge fire on the beach, appeared on the third instead of the fourth evening, and upon hurrying to it the French found only one poor Indian, who said the others had gone home, leaving Iberville again to his own resources. Had he been able to get to the river with these people by a short route and then descend to the mouth and fix its location accurately, all would have been easy; but the Mississippi had been hidden too long to yield up its secret to so little effort.

Stimulated rather than discouraged by the many difficulties, Iberville took thirty-three men with twenty days' supply of food in two feluccas in each of which a cannon was mounted, and taking in tow two canoes, the quest for the "Hidden River" began. The weather was not propitious, but the impatient spirit of Iberville drove him on through wind, rain, fog, around islands and islets and over sandbars and reefs. In spite of a high wind the waves were not

troublesome on account of the clustered masses of seaward islands. Keeping near the shore, so as to miss no inlet or river mouth, they sailed and paddled, and dragged the feluccas over the sandbars to the music of the breakers dashing against the distant islands. The mainland lay close on their right, and they spent one night on a protruding point which was buried at high tide. The next day the fog and mist were so dense they could not advance, but remained some time on a spot of sand and ooze that trembled and shook under them. Afternoon came, and with it the heavens broke loose, a terrific thunder storm came on that lasted all night, and with equal suddenness the wind veered to the northeast and became freezing cold. They had no protection, no shelter, indeed it was necessary to bend over and use their bodies as a shelter to keep the rain from extinguishing the fire. They dug in the sand for drinking water in vain, the Gulf rose and their island was covered with six inches of water. They heaped up the sand for a foundation, and then placed upon it twigs and rushes with which to make a small fire and keep it from the water underneath. They remained at this place all day. The next day the weather moderated slightly and they were able to start. Running before a strong north wind, they sought here, there, and everywhere for some opening in the labyrinth of islands, until finally they rounded a point and came in sight of the mainland. This

too brought its dangers, for now they received the full sweep of the storm, which had increased in violence with the approach of night. The sea broke over their little open boats unchecked, while the canoes which the great seas had compelled them to take on board threatened to bring all to a common disaster. At one time they tried to land, fearing to pass the river in the dark and storm without recognition, while at another time they fought for the open sea in fear of wreck on the shore to which every squall was forcing them. The furious gale showed no signs of abating, the waves became more violent and hurled the boats savagely hither and thither, night was fast approaching, and the men were soaking wet and chilled to the bone by the fierce wind. After breasting the blast for three hours across the point of a formidable cape of jutting rocks, Iberville concluded they must go ashore or perish. The little shallops could stand no more, and shipwreck must be risked. Sauvole,* in charge of the second boat, saw Iberville put about and steer apparently straight to death against the rocks, but that formidable cape opened before him into an aggregation of isolated rocks and received in its sheltering arms the battered longboats, which now sped smoothly on a

* Many well-known writers have insisted that Sauvole was a younger brother of Iberville. The writer agrees with Hamilton and King that there is absolutely no foundation for this statement. *Vide* King, "Sieur de Bienville," page 73 note.

waveless sea. Straining through the multitude of rocks which dotted the water for miles was a swift, strong current that swept relentlessly out into the Gulf. The men, weary and terrified, now found consolation. They tasted the water; it was sweet and from much sediment whitish in color — it was the mouth of the Mississippi. The rescue of the boats and the object of the expedition were simultaneously accomplished (March 2, 1699).

The stream became thicker and whiter and the current so swift that even with the strong wind in their favor and all sail set they made but poor headway. The rocks at the entrance, twisted, gnarled, and fantastic in form, were the petrified remnants of forest giants which the great current had brought down on its bosom to suffer in time this sea change. The trees with interlocking arms had fastened themselves to the bottom and to each other, and sediment and slime had been heaped over the mass, which had all solidified into those grotesque and menacing monuments — high, dark, and irregularly located — which stood as the clustered guardians of that long-sought channel, rolling its great flood of turbid waters around and through the midst of these monstrous piles. Loath to surrender a long-held individuality, the waters did not readily mingle with those of the Gulf. Pushing on, Iberville came after dark to a narrow sand spit on which the boats again narrowly

escaped wreck, and, pressing forward against the urge of the river, he at last made camp on a sedge-grown shore of sand, across which, not fifty yards away, the sea, cheated of its prey, foamed and roared and beat in impotent fury.

CHAPTER XI

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE RIVER

THE characteristic appearance of the rock-bound entrance convinced Iberville that he had found the river called by the Spaniards the "Palisades," but was it also the one known to the Indians as the "Malbancia," and were these two only other names for what the northern tribes called the Mississippi? This was the question now to be determined, but how? He turned this over in his mind as he lay before the fire that night in his lonely camp among the thick reeds and rushes that bind the soil of the delta. He felt all the pleasure possible in seeing himself escaped from a very imminent peril. Sheltered from wind and wave by the sand and sedge, his mind reverted also to the hardships of the day. He says ironically, "It is a very gallant business exploring the shores of the sea on boats that are not large enough to keep out the sea either under sail or at anchor, and too large to land on a flat coast, but strand a mile and a half from shore." It is not difficult to see why he was doubtful about the entrance, since even now it is hard to recognize, and later

Tonty found it unfamiliar in its high stage, presenting as it did an appearance so different from that during low water when he and La Salle came down. Instead of a large bay into the bottom of which the river discharges with a broad channel, it stretches out an enormous hand at arm's length into the Gulf, a hand and arm composed of its own alluvial offerings, and grasps the Gulf so eagerly that the water escapes as through the fingers, in a perfect maze of creeks, bayous, and passes which intersect the mass of soil and debris over an area of fourteen hundred square miles. It was as if the Venerable River, dissatisfied with its length, had prolonged its course into the Gulf upon a trestlework of its own formation. Iberville in his heart was convinced of the identity of his discovery, but nevertheless he had to make his demonstration complete for the doubters at home. In the morning, true to his marine training, he attempted to take the usual soundings, but the weather would not permit this except in the sheltered channel. The river itself, he says, was about three hundred and fifty fathoms wide, with a strong current, but what especially pleased him was the whitish and muddy appearance of the water, since this was the characteristic mentioned by La Salle.

Unable meanwhile to demonstrate his opinion that it was really the river he sought, he enjoyed his triumph with a certain reserve. Not so, however,

Sauvole, who had no doubts and rejoiced openly, as did all the others, and as it was a feast-day the name Mardi Gras was given to a bayou where a cross was planted, mass said, and a Te Deum sung.

Iberville, however, resolved to prove the correctness of his belief by ascending as far as the fork of which the "Relations" spoke. According to the journals he should find forty leagues up the river on the left the deserted village of the Tangipahoas ; two leagues above this, the Quinipissas ; and forty leagues above these, a division, or fork, in the river. Thence to the Coroas should be six leagues, and to the Natchez ten, to the Tenzas twelve, to the Arkansas eighty. It all seemed very plain and reliable, and he made ready to ascend the river. This was a difficult task, which was made dangerous by the quantities of logs and great trees that came whirling and tossing like toys down the rapid current. Nevertheless the expedition, led by Bienville in one of the canoes, started bravely out upon the broad expanse of the great river which lay before them. The work was toilsome in the extreme, but they progressed steadily, and every evening the cannon in the bow of the longboat boomed a salute to the flag and every morning they blazed the trees in Canadian fashion to mark the site of the camp. In this enterprise there was no opportunity to dreamily drift in the sluggish current of a tropical stream, but, imbued with a firm purpose to succeed or fail while working

to the utmost, the boats were forced against the swift current by sail where possible but otherwise by oars, mostly the latter, and thus they won their slow way upward. The frequent crooks and turns were a great source of annoyance to the Canadians, who complained that they had to cross the stream four or five times in going a league. To Iberville too the great river with its muddy current and many bends was very different from his own St. Lawrence with its broad and almost straight channel and its deep, majestic current of blue pure water rolling calmly to the sea, save where the occasional rapids gave a life and power to that river which he now missed on the Mississippi. The boats moved steadily on, however, through a scenery new and strange to the Canadians. They saw the sedge and rushes on the sandbars at the mouth gradually change on the more elevated though still marshy land into a dense growth of cane with its tall, straight stems and feathery light-green foliage. This in turn gave way to swamps streaked with strands of cypress, to pine, red cedar, oak, and the fragrant magnolia, and all gracefully hung with festoons of Spanish moss or embossed with the growing masses of mistletoe. Water turkeys sat huddled on the higher limbs of the dead trees or dropped incuriously to the water. Cardinals and mocking-birds flew in great numbers among the trees on the shore, and herons, blue, gray, and white, flapped their lazy wings ahead of the

boats with discordant cries. Buzzards soared high in the heavens, alert for food, while clumsy pelicans winged their way to and from the Gulf. They noted with interest the huge catfish and were astonished at the strange-appearing spade-fish. Various incidents broke the monotonous dodging of drift-wood and sandbars. A barge was dismasted by a squall, and while a new mast was stepped the men found and enjoyed wild blackberries. Then the food became scarce, and all went on rations carefully doled out day by day, although occasionally they secured a feast in the shape of an alligator, a rattlesnake, or a bear

Nevertheless they resolutely advanced, and after five days of laborious and discouraging exertion they were cheered by meeting some Indians, from whom they inquired their way and received the provoking news that their Bayagoulas friends had arrived at their village by a short cut through a small river. They were able to secure new supplies from these Indians, whom they entertained by exhibiting many little trinkets and by giving them presents, and whom also they frightened by discharging the cannon. They passed the night in a huge cane field of extreme density and height. A guide accompanied Iberville the next day, and about six miles up the river showed him the Indian portage between the river and the Gulf, probably Bayou St. John, through which pirogues could be dragged easily.

The weather changed from hot to cold, and the river from graceful bends and curves to inconceivable contortions. The rowers pulled six miles to advance one. On account of fatigue from the constant labor and the onset of a heavy tropical rain, one day was spent in rest upon the bank. Some of the men went out hunting, and two Breton sailors from the *Marin* were lost. Cannon were fired during the night, and on the following day parties were sent in various directions firing their guns at intervals, while the barges rowed up and down the shore, but no trace of the wanderers could be found, and the expedition proceeded without them.

Passing Bayou Plaquemines, which the guide called Ouachas River, they met two pirogues containing Indians of the Ouachas and Bayagoulas tribes from whom they secured more corn. The Ouachas then went on to their village, while the Bayagoulas returned up stream to announce the arrival of the French to their chiefs. The French ground their corn and seasoned it with salt pork, thus producing a dish which the Indians called "sagamity." Starting early the next day, they soon arrived near the village of the Bayagoulas * and their communal

* The Mougoulachas and Bayagoulas (Choctaw, meaning "white oak people") lived together in one village on the west bank of the Mississippi about sixty-four leagues from the sea. The Oumas, or Houmas, were on the east bank just below the mouth of Red River. The Natchez were higher up on the same side. The Tensas lived on the west bank of the river farther north than the Natchez, and the Coroas were still higher up.

tribe, the Mougoulachas (March 14). A delegation met them with a large calumet, brilliantly decorated with colored feathers, which was passed and smoked from barge to barge. Then, standing in the bow of Iberville's boat, the calumet-bearer held aloft his pipe and chanted a peace song as the flotilla gradually approached the Indian-crowded landing of the tribe. Stepping from the boat, Iberville was supported by two warriors and led to a cleared space under the trees where on outspread bear skins sat the chief in state surrounded by warriors and women. Resting on a forked stick in the centre of the meeting place and guarded by a noble warrior who was religiously attending to his duty, Iberville beheld the iron calumet which he had given the Indians on the sea shore, the miniature ship with the swinging folds of fleur-de-lis. Food was provided, and Iberville gave out presents and quite won the savage hearts by his tactful methods and gallant mien.

They reported the passage of "Iron Hand" Tonty, who had stopped at their village both going and returning from the mouth, and while this was valuable testimony to the identity of the river, no information could be obtained about the mysterious "fork." The news of Tonty was made more convincing by the knives and hatchets of French manufacture which the Indians possessed, and the Canadians had a moment of joy not unmingled with homesickness when

the haughty chief appeared clad in a coat of Montreal blue which he said had been given to him by Tonty.

With that happy facility characteristic of the French people and especially marked in his own family, Iberville by this time had learned enough of the Indian language to understand it and to communicate in it by aid of signs, while Bienville, who had kept the guide in the boat with him, could talk fairly well. There was no linguistic misunderstanding possible therefore; the Indians were sure the river neither forked nor branched, and they demonstrated this by drawing a map of the river and its tributaries. As to the Tangipahoas, their village had never been on the Mississippi. They had formed one of the seven tribes of the Quinipissas, whose village the Oumas had destroyed and whose national identity they had abolished by incorporating the survivors into their own tribe, where, as they said, they could still be seen. Iberville could not reconcile this in any way with the "Relations," and especially with that of Hennepin, who he could not believe would be guilty of making a false statement to the whole of France. Furthermore he was in a very embarrassing situation, one hundred and ninety leagues from his ships, his provisions exhausted, his men broken from their incessant toil against the current, his colony still to be located, and Surgères under orders to return to France in six weeks. He was convinced if he returned from where he was without further proof that

Tonty had passed, it would not be credited in France that he had found the Mississippi in the face of the contradictory "Relations."

There seemed to be no course left but to continue the arduous journey up stream. The afternoon passed in more feasting, singing, dancing, and tribal ceremonies which Iberville was too wise to neglect. The next day was spent with the Mougoulachas, where similar ceremonies were enacted and presents exchanged. Iberville made a careful examination of the village and describes exhaustively the temple and the forms of worship of their tutelary deity the "possum." In his wanderings he was delighted to find a glass bottle which also had been left by Tonty. He was not content, however. He says, "Seeing myself so far and no certainty that I was on the Mississippi, which I had been sent to find, and seeing no Nation of whom mention was made in the 'Relations,' I resolved to go to the Oumas, where I knew Tonty had been." Iberville was quite disgusted with the Bayagoulas, who he thought did not compare in physique with the sturdy northern Indians of his Canada, and living as they did in the midst of a most rich and fertile country they seemed on that account to be only so much the less industrious. But such as they were he could use them, and when the chief offered to take him to the village of the Oumas in his canoe with eight of his wives at the paddles, he gladly accepted.

A cross bearing the arms of France was planted, and then he started in search of that "fork" which he believed to be the distinctive feature of the lower Mississippi. This point had got on his nerves and must be proved or disproved. No rollicking jests, no Canadian boating song, no lilting ballad, cheered the hearts of that exhausted crew, but every effort at the oars brought an oath or a groan. But despite his grumbling and swearing crew and driven by his very natural anxiety to find positive confirmation, Iberville pushed eagerly forward. On the east bank of the river the chief pointed out, as they ascended, the little stream which led to the home of the Biloxi Indians. He called it the Ascantia and said it was the only fork of the Mississippi he knew of that led to the sea. They passed a pole stripped of its bark and planted near the shore. It was painted red and covered with skulls of fish and bears, and the Indians told him it marked the boundary between the tribes of the Oumas and Bayagoulas. After leaving this Golgotha which they had named Baton Rouge, they came to a bayou about six feet wide which the chief said would save them about thirty-six miles if they could get through it. Bienville examined it and reported it feasible. Then the Canadians took their axes and cut through a huge log jam and felled trees until a pathway was secured, then the luggage was portaged, and by means of pulleys the longboats were dragged through rain and mire to the other

side. Since then the bayou has been called Pointe Coupée, although the river soon seized upon the new cut-off and made it its own main channel.

Their journey involved five days of hard rowing up stream, but at length they arrived at the landing of the Oumas, where they were met by a delegation and conducted to the venerable chief in his palisaded village. They too had much to say of Tonty, who had spent five days with them, but they knew nothing of any "fork." Iberville now thought that the Indians might have reasons for concealing the truth about the river, so he concluded to go on to the Coroas, below whose village about six leagues the "Relations" said the fork was to be found. So on the following day they started on another long nine days' journey up stream. To secure an unbiassed opinion he took a Tensas Indian with him into his own barge and cross-examined him rigorously, but gained nothing new. The Tensas man had been as high as the Arkansas and declared positively there was no fork in the river. When they stopped at night he drew a map on the sand showing that in three days they would reach the mouth of the Tassenogougoula River (Red River), but no fork. Then by a large bend the river came back to within a few miles of the village they had just left, and in three days more they would reach the Natchez Tribe, after which they would come in two days to his own village, but no fork. Iberville now sat down and used the deadly parallel, putting

what the friars had stated on one side and what he had found and learned upon the other. The result was conclusive; the friars knew nothing whatsoever of the lower river. He also concluded that so many Indians could not be mistaken in regard to so simple a fact as a fork in a river. Thoroughly disgusted with the priestly inventions, he decided to search no farther for things that did not exist. Likewise his persistent questioning had brought other information of great consequence. He learned that one of the Mougoulacha chiefs had a letter from Tonty which had been given him for "a man who would come up the river from the sea," which must be La Salle, therefore the river must be the Mississippi. Furthermore other conditions were pressing upon him that gave him great anxiety. Much time had been frittered away in ceremonials with the various tribes, and the limit of his stay was at hand. The provisions were low, the expedition was a long way from the sea and much farther from the ships, and he had promised that he would be back in six weeks. His growing indignation at the mendacious friars for their mischievous tales and fictitious narratives now culminated in an explosion of wrath in which he expressed himself in no uncertain manner. Father Douay especially felt the weight of his order's disgrace, and was glad to travel in any boat but Iberville's.

CHAPTER XII

THE FORT AT BILOXI AND THE RETURN TO FRANCE

IT was now absolutely necessary to fall back ; so the orders were issued, the boats were turned about, and the retreat began. Picking up the Bayagoula chief again at the Ouma village, the expedition moved cheerfully and rapidly down stream followed by the regretful farewells of their Indian hosts. They saved a day by using Pointe Coupée, where they found alligators collected around the still glowing embers of their recent campfire, and on the next day, March 22, they reached the small stream, the Ascantia, that joins the Mississippi on the east, and here Iberville decided to divide the party. He would explore the Ascantia, while Sauvole and Bienville with the two barges which could not pass the little river should go down the Mississippi with the Indians whom they would leave at their village, and then go on and take soundings at the mouth. Bienville was also charged to buy if possible, but at any rate to secure, that all-important letter of Tonty's from the Mougoulacha chief. Then Iberville with two canoes and four of his

Canadians with Indian guides pushed through the tangled undergrowth and began his journey on the little river, which the guides said led to a bay only twenty-four miles from the ships' anchorage. This little stream, then very properly called Iberville River, is now known by the shorter but less distinctive name of Manchac Pass. It was about ten feet wide and five feet deep, but much obstructed by fallen trees. The stream was alive with snakes and alligators, but it drained a country composed of a rich and fertile alluvial soil upon which grew a dense vegetation, and this in turn sheltered a great variety and abundance of game. This route was much more difficult than the big river, requiring as it did about eighty portages, but it was much nearer in point of distance. Besides the difficulties of the route other complications appeared to delay and vex him. One of his Canadians fell ill, and Iberville had to take his place on the portages. On the second day the Indian guide abandoned him, but his thorough Canadian training in woodcraft stood him in good stead and he pressed on without a guide. The way led over many portages, through bayous and swamps surrounded by cypress and hung with the ever present Spanish moss or dense with undergrowth and dark with thick-growing trees, and across sloughs of clear flowing water beside which sometimes lay half-finished Indian dugouts. After passing a small height of land by portage he entered

another bayou, then a series of lakes and connecting waters which, in honor of the Minister and his son, Iberville named Maurepas Lake and Lake Pontchartrain. Snakes had menaced them at all times, but in the lakes the alligators* became a very serious danger to the small canoes as they heaved themselves heavily up from the depths, while their great bellowings at night served to keep the travellers awake, an achievement in which they were industriously aided by the myriads of mosquitoes, "frightful little beasts to men in need of rest."

Lake Pontchartrain was quite large and in many places approached the river so closely that the latter could be seen over the intervening cane and marsh. Iberville travelled rapidly, making from twenty-five to thirty-five miles a day, and soon passed the lakes and reached the beach where the broad bosom of the great Gulf opened before him, tossing its restless billows, limitless, voiceless, and lonely, without sign of ship or human life. Here he kindled a great fire to attract the attention of the fleet, so that the longboat would come for him if the Gulf should be too rough for his canoe. On the next day the weather was calm, and he started, but when about

* Charlevoix says that it was a common belief at the time of his visit that one could hardly make a stroke of the oar in Lake Pontchartrain without touching an alligator, an assertion that is supported by the following statement by Farrand: "In view of the fact that two hundred and eighty thousand skins are used annually, it is not surprising that the supply is becoming rapidly reduced." ("Basis of American History.")



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PORTION OF LT. ROSS'S MAP, MADE IN 1765

(Original in possession of Chicago Historical Society)

Shows (a) route of Iberville from Mississippi River to ships in first expedition; (b) site of Fort La Boulaye, the first establishment on the river; (c) the location of Indian tribes along the river as far as the Tunicians; (d) Pointe Coupée, mentioned in first expedition; (e) English Turn

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half-way over to Ship Island he met the barges coming to investigate the cause of the fire. He reached the ships on the thirty-first. About eight hours thereafter Sauvole and Bienville, who had descended the Mississippi, also reached the ship. They reported the shores of the river wherever seen to be covered with cane, and at the mouth they had found from eighteen to twenty fathoms of water. They had discovered the two lost sailors among the Bayagoulas, to whom they had been guided by an Indian who had met them starving and exhausted, toiling slowly up the muddy shore of the river in pursuit of the boats. Bienville had had some trouble with the Bayagoulas, who had stolen the diary ("Relations") and breviary of Father Douay, who had accompanied him, and they were greatly annoyed when the Father tried to regain it. Sauvole also reported that he had found a "dry spot" on the bank of the Mississippi suitable for a settlement, one that was not overflowed. But more important than all was the letter. They had the "speaking bark" from Tonty, dated April 20, 1686, which they had bought for a hatchet from the chief of the Mougoulachas. For fourteen years he had carried and preserved it for delivery to "a man who would come up the river." And dated as it was at the village of the Quinipissas, it cleared up another point besides the identity of the river; it showed that the Bayagoulas and Mougoulachas either

intentionally or ignorantly had concealed the name of their village, which was now revealed by him of the "Iron Hand." Poor Tonty, heartbroken over his failure to meet La Salle, who at that moment was ranging the prairies of Texas and moving inevitably to his death, had left the letter in the hope that it would be given to La Salle, should he ever reach the river. Hearing, he said, from Quebec, that La Salle had lost a ship in his expedition to find the mouth of the river and that the savages were plundering him, he, Tonty, had descended the Illinois from Fort St. Louis to the mouth of the Mississippi, with twenty-five men, and had sought for him along the shores of the Gulf twenty-five leagues to either side of the delta. He had found the Indians friendly both going and coming.

When Iberville read Tonty's letter, he was much vexed that he had not gone down the river, for it stated that Tonty would leave another letter in a hollow tree about seven leagues from the mouth. This Iberville said he would have found, since there were but few trees on the river for seven leagues from the mouth, and those were on the west bank. The last doubt was vanquished,—the Malbancia must be the Mississippi. Thus Iberville's long and toilsome journey was rewarded by a certainty regarding the identity of the river and by the acquisition of this valuable letter which he would not have obtained otherwise.

It was now imperative to locate the settlement, but Iberville felt that Sauvole's "dry spot" was too far away to be utilized under the urgent conditions that faced him. Apparently it was too far from the Gulf for commercial convenience and too near the Indians for safety. Nevertheless eighteen years afterward Bienville founded New Orleans on Sauvole's "dry spot." After much investigation and many soundings both east and west of the ship's anchorage, it seemed best to locate at Biloxi if a good harbor could be found. Neither Lake Pontchartrain nor the Mississippi seemed entirely satisfactory. Something near at hand was necessary, for the establishment must be founded at once, as supplies were failing rapidly. The mouth of the Pascagoula River which led easily inland offered the most desirable site, but this had been sounded by Iberville's orders during his absence and failed to show sufficient depth of water. The Bay of Biloxi with its guardian island offered the next most suitable site on account of its proximity to the various Indian tribes. A felucca sent to explore this returned with an unfavorable answer, whereupon Iberville took the felucca and with the fatigues of his recent journey still upon him sailed back to Lake Pontchartrain to search those shores. About ten o'clock on the following night he returned, having lost his bearings repeatedly in the darkness and heavy seas which all but swamped him. The felucca had

been drifting rapidly seaward on the ebbing tide when the lights went up on the ship's masts and saved them. He had found the lakes possible only as a last resource, but after some further exploration had about decided to locate there when he took a last look at the Biloxi waters and happily discovered a narrow channel of deep water leading to a comfortable harbor between the mainland and an island and extending back to a beautiful little bay.

It was enough. The decision was made, the trees cut, a space cleared, and the plan of the fort laid out; but the work went all too slowly for the impatient Iberville. The men were reinforced by workmen from the crews, and the boats were constantly busy carrying men and material from the ships to the shore, while the people on shore dug, built, and planted. At length the fort with parapet and cannon occupying the middle of the clearing was completed, and named Fort Maurepas. Guns, ammunition, provisions, cattle, horses, and swine were put ashore, and for two days twenty-five men worked at sowing corn and peas for the use of the colony. In the midst of the work five Spanish deserters arrived from Pensacola telling such sad stories of sickness and mutiny there and such glittering tales of the wealth and cowardice of the Spanish at Vera Cruz, that Iberville became quite interested. He kept the deserters to take back to France for reference, and in his journal he notes thoughtfully that with five

hundred Canadians he could keep all New Spain in terror. He now arranged for his departure. Sauvole was left in charge of the fort, with Bienville next in command, and a garrison of seventy men and boys. With only enough provisions for the voyage and a crew barely large enough to work the ship, Iberville sailed for France on May 3, 1699, shortly after the fort was finished. Thus it was that he found the mouth of that great river whose very existence was denied by some and doubted by many, and only missed by Beaujeu by so slight a chance as his refusal to return when so requested by La Salle.

In France his return was awaited with impatience. His reports aroused the interest of science, the zeal of commerce, and encouraged the Government to greater exertions. Iberville had carefully taken the latitude and longitude of the places he had visited, and thereby revealed the reasons for the previous geographical errors as well as those of La Salle, who had abandoned himself to incorrect maps. He says, "All the charts hitherto made have been drawn by people who do not know the degrees of latitude and longitude nor how far places are from one another and who do not count the turns and twists of the way." Nevertheless maps continued to be published for a number of years which gave the location of the river incorrectly.

Joutel now recalled with chagrin that La Salle had originated the enterprise, and he also made claim

to the points in which his journal had aided Iberville. But more than disagreeable was the return of Iberville to that false priest, Hennepin. Iberville did not conceal his wrath, says Margry, against the Récollect friar for that misinformation which had exacted from him so many hardships in proving its falsity, and Hennepin was greatly embarrassed when meeting any of the knowing ones like Thoynard.* Beaujeu was even more annoyed, if possible, than the friar or Joutel by the success of Iberville, for well he realized if he had but obeyed La Salle in that momentous year 1685, and returned by the route selected, the wreath of honor then in his very hand would have been placed on his head rather than Iberville's. He had given great attention to the expedition, and before Iberville had quitted Europe he had written, "I hope he will succeed, but *fear* he will fail like La Salle." His real hope was voiced in the latter part of the sentence, and after the departure of Iberville Beaujeu had made allusions to the currents and "feared" they would serve him a bad turn if he was not watchful. He had referred to Iberville in derision as the "Hero of the Mississippi," and when his "Hero" returned in that very capacity, he tried to throw doubt on the discovery and minimize its importance. He says "there is no certainty in the statements of these Canadians whose reports are often

* Nicholas Thoynard, writer, lawyer, and counsellor to many of the nobility, held an official position in the city of Orleans.

full of dreams, and even if true we shall not profit by it, — the Spanish will not let us.” In this last word Beaujeu had put his finger on one of the difficulties of the expedition; it was now necessary to hold what had been scientifically determined. A colony must be sent out and forts built not only to prevent the encroachment of England but to overcome the resistance of Spain.

The question of the colonies had always attracted Pontchartrain, and especially Canada, which he longed to visit, and he therefore busied himself in arranging new measures to hinder all rival enterprises in the country which Iberville was expected to open up. Directly after the departure of the *Badine* and *Marin* Pontchartrain's enthusiasm was strengthened and his interest encouraged by the influence of his friend and tutor, the noble Vauban.

In a long document Vauban reviewed for Pontchartrain the various conditions as they existed in the colonies where French and English were watching each other. He says:

“Virginia and Quebec were settled at the same time, but while the space of the English colonies was restricted and the population rapidly multiplying, the French territory was vast, but so located that the English could not expand without encroachment. A contest was inevitable. The French held the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi basins by right of discovery and exploration, and were making good their claims as fast as possible by forts and settlements. In justice the English had no right to cross

the Alleghanies, and yet by the charter rights granted by Charles II and James II, the boundaries were accorded without consideration of the French, and, indeed, as if they did not exist. When complaint was made the English even attempted to claim validity of occupation on the ground of supposititious explorations. The English were reported on the Ohio by Denonville and showed a determination to go forward, and when, therefore, the English from Carolina appear among the Chichachas one perceives the prelude of an antagonism which La Salle felt when he urged the necessity of occupying the territory he had explored. The mistake in regard to the colonization of Hudson Bay and New England should serve as a warning.”

It was in vain, therefore, that Ducasse, Governor of San Domingo, doubted the value of the new territory to commerce, and vaunted the superiority of his own colony both commercially and as a strategic point, being, as he said, the key to Mexico, Peru, Santa Fé, and Quito.* It was in vain too that the Governor of Canada (Caillières) opposed the colonization of Louisiana, fearing, as did Ducasse, the diversion of commerce, royal interest, and a diminution of personal importance. This fear was not altogether unfounded, but it was vitally necessary to both colonies, both as politics and strategy, if they were to remain as the two heads of New France, that a close communication by way of the Great Lakes

* He concludes, “Sieur d'Iberville is an excellent man, honest and well intentioned, but one must guard against his spirit of enterprise.” (Ducasse to the Minister.)

should unite the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

This, then, was the situation when Iberville returned to Rochelle, June 29, 1699, to reinforce the Minister. He had given many evidences of his exceptional ability as a leader of men, but in his communication to the Government he now exhibits a rare political sagacity. He demonstrated that it was necessary to act, not to overthrow the Spanish but to arrest the march of the English. With a statesmanlike grasp of the situation he says :

“It is necessary to concern ourselves with the perils that menace our establishments. These conditions arise from the neighborhood of powers that are dangerous both by their numbers and superiority of position to the French colonists. Near our colonies on the north, the English and Dutch colonies occupy a country with a temperate climate and superabundant production. They can draw numberless emigrants whom they can establish advantageously and fix for ever. The French who come into New France are attracted by certain advantages, by the exploitation of the immense forests, and the fisheries, but they have to contend with a rigorous climate and they dream only of spending their accumulations in the Mother Country. The English are established in the south in a zone superior to that at home, and after a few years they do not wish to leave. To preserve its position on the north, France must occupy the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi as far as the Gulf. This is the more urgent, since England is preparing to occupy this same region. If France does not seize this part of America which is the most beautiful to have for a colony, and strong enough to

resist any which England may have here, the English colonies already considerable in Carolina will so thrive that in less than one hundred years they will be strong enough to seize all America. If we do not increase as fast as the English who have the colonizing spirit and who enrich themselves and remain in those places which France has not found it desirable to retain, how much more might they accomplish in highly valuable and desirable regions."

After the lapse of two hundred years the situation could not be described more clearly or accurately than in the preceding words of the prophetic Iberville. Pontchartrain, too, dimly perceived the existence of a definite and irreconcilable antagonism, and feeling it a duty to erect a barrier against the English flood, with also a strong hope that mines as good as those found by the Spanish might be discovered, he empowered Iberville to carry supplies for seven months and material for trade to Biloxi, together with some Canadians who had been with him upon Hudson Bay. Among other things he was instructed to bring back samples of buffalo wool and of pearls and ores; he was to report whether the native women and children could be utilized in the rearing of silkworms and other industries. It was therefore ordered that the frigate *Renommée* and the store ship *Girond* should be made ready. While the preparations were going forward, both Iberville and Surgères were decorated with the cross of the order of Chevaliers of St. Louis.

Iberville meanwhile learned from his London correspondent that the English were awaiting word from the two ships which had been sent to the Carolinas the preceding year commanded by Captain Banks, a man whom Iberville had captured in one of his Hudson Bay expeditions and whom he regarded as stupid and inefficient. Daniel Coxe, who bore the cost of this expedition, was the proprietor of the Carolinas, a grant which embraced the country between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth parallels of latitude, "and all the lands lying westward to the sea," and he was earnestly attempting to colonize at the mouth of the Mississippi in order that the western portions of his grant should be protected.

The *Renommée* and *Girond* sailed October 16, 1699.*

* According to his secret instructions, Iberville was forbidden to attack any English settlement he might find, but was to cause its destruction by the Canadians and Indians in such a way that he could himself disavow it. (Pontchartrain to Iberville, Sept. 22, 1699.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION AND IBERVILLE'S RETURN TO BILOXI

WHILE awaiting the return of the Commander, Sauvole and Bienville were by no means idle. The former urged the work on the unfinished buildings and studied the maintenance of discipline. He began with enthusiasm, but gradually lost heart and interest and wrote more and more discouragingly in his diary, until, homesick and depressed by the many misfortunes that afflicted the colony, he ultimately fell an easy victim to yellow fever shortly before the third and last visit of Iberville. Meanwhile the seed sowed by Iberville had sprouted promptly and then withered and died in the hot sun. Drouths and famine had followed quickly upon his departure, plagues of snakes and alligators which were killed at the very gates of the fort kept the colonists in anxiety, and they saw their boats eaten by worms (*Teredos*) under their very eyes. Much of the illness was among the unacclimated Canadians, whose depressed vitality did not easily throw off the fevers peculiar to the South. Water was so scarce that the swamps

dried up, and if a spring had not been discovered great suffering would have ensued. The men could work only two hours morning and evening, and many were afflicted with dysentery. Fishing, hunting, and searching for pearls had occupied all the attention of the colonists, and agriculture had hardly been attempted. The French realized at once that the climate would not permit white men to work in the fields. In July two seminary priests, Davion and Montigny, who had come down from Quebec to work among the Tunica Indians near the mouth of the Arkansas, journeyed down the Mississippi to visit the new French establishment. They were exhausted from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and while taken in and entertained, the burden of caring for them and the sixteen hungry men in the party made serious inroads on the slender stores of the colony in famine time. The Indians too came in to see, visit, and eat, and had to be treated circumspectly. Nevertheless the work of the colony went steadily on.

In spite of all obstacles the active and restless young Bienville explored the coast and visited the tribes from Pensacola to Biloxi and from Biloxi to the Oumas up the Mississippi. While returning from the latter trip he turned a bend in the river and twenty-three miles above the mouth came upon a corvette anchored in midstream. The corvette was one of those chartered and sent out by Daniel Coxe and

was commanded by Captain Banks. The captain stated frankly that he was in search of the Mississippi. Bienville informed him that the river was not the Mississippi, but a river from Canada belonging to France, and that a large French colony was located a short distance up the stream.

The captain had experienced as much difficulty as Iberville in finding the river. He had first sailed to the western extremity of the Gulf and then moved slowly backward along the coast, in this way missing by a few weeks the discovery which was the reward of Iberville's more direct and certain aim. Captain Banks, with none of Iberville's tenacity of purpose, yielded to the pressure of Bienville's arguments and agreed to retire, though he threatened also to return. From this encounter, the bend in the river where the young French lieutenant and his five Canadians met the English has since been called English Turn.

While on board the English vessel Bienville had been approached by a French Huguenot engineer who assured him that there were five hundred discontented Huguenots at Charleston who would be glad to move to the new French colony if they could get the King's permission. Bienville had promised to report the matter. When Iberville received the word, he gave it great consideration, for with his comprehensive and unbiassed mind he saw in this situation the solution of most of his difficulties. He saw a powerful French

nation building up the entire Mississippi Valley and forming an absolute barrier against the English. But when the matter was reported to the Government, the reply came back that the King would hardly care to make France Catholic only to have his colonies heretic.

Having watched the English safely out of the river, Bienville returned to Biloxi, where the fort routine was again taken up. Shortly after his return the Pascagoulas came in, bringing a Choctaw who confirmed the impression made by Captain Banks that the English had determined to encroach upon or take possession of the Mississippi region. The Choctaw came from the upper Alabama country, and he said that the English already had dealings with his tribe and that two Englishmen were established among the Chickasaws in the northern part of what is now the State of Mississippi.

January 8, 1700, the boom of cannon in the Gulf announced Iberville's return, bringing to the colony everything in the way of stores and provisions and to Sauvole and Bienville their royal commissions. With him came Le Sueur, who had acquired a reputation through his adventures on the Great Lakes; Juchereau de St. Denis, related to Iberville's wife; Sieur Boisbriant, afterward celebrated in the annals of the colony, and, better than all, Le Moyne de Serigny and Antoine Le Moyne de Chateauguay, two more of that enterprising brotherhood. Chateauguay was the sec-

ond of that surname, and now at the age of seventeen he came to assume his place in that portion of the great family of Canadian Maccabees which was working out the problem of Louisiana.

Iberville the soldier had now become Iberville the colonist, and interested himself in obtaining fine bulls and stallions to improve the native stock. He brought young girls of good family to become wives of the colonists. He brought cotton seed and sugar cane and began to figure on securing labor, which of course meant slaves. He sent out parties to look for mines, and considered the possibilities of commerce by sea, and with the more remote Indians by the interior waterways. As soon as Iberville arrived the colony came to life. One of his first acts was to plant some of that San Domingo sugar cane which was the first sugar cane planted in Louisiana. He remained at Biloxi only long enough to collect sixty men for a trip up the Mississippi. The first step, however, was to measure and sound Lake Pontchartrain. After this, finding that the barges could not go through the marshy pass to the Mississippi (probably Bayou St. John), they were left in the lake, and only the pirogues (dugouts) were carried across the portage, which was about three miles in length and about one-half of it through mud and water to the knees. Since one of the main incentives to this expedition was to find a site for a settlement and fort on the river, much time was spent looking for a place

that was free from inundation. Finally, Iberville, who was ill with fever, became so weak that he returned to Biloxi, and Bienville went up to the Bayagoulas and returned with a chief of that tribe who pointed out a spot which he said was never inundated. The location besides being dry was well chosen for its attractiveness. The forest was open for leagues below, while above them stretched a cypress forest. Iberville came up the river in a transport and joined Bienville, and thirty-eight miles below the future site of New Orleans, the fort was begun.

On February 16, 1700, Iberville was joined by Tonty, who by way of Quebec had heard of his first expedition and in anticipation of his return had come paddling down the river from Fort St. Louis with sixty *voyageurs* and a band of the Illinois and Tamaroas Indians. The reinforcement was very welcome, as many of the colonists were ill, and, besides, the newcomers were fellow-Canadians and accustomed to the life in the woods. Tonty's offer of assistance was promptly accepted, and as the intention was to explore Red River, the construction of the fort was left in charge of a Canadian, while Tonty and the Le Moynes set out up the river. Soon they fell in with Le Sueur, who had come over with Iberville to make an expedition to St. Anthony Falls and Mankato Country in search of mines and furs. Overtaking him on a portage, they continued their journey together as far as the village of the Bayagoulas. Among these Indians

the rumor was again confirmed that the English were pushing westward from Carolina along De Soto's old trail and arming the Choctaws, while two men were stationed permanently among the Chickasaws. Iberville tarried a few days with the Bayagoulas and gave them cotton seed to plant, which was also the first to be planted in Louisiana. While there he composed their differences with the Oumas, and by extending his walks in various directions got a comprehensive idea of the country. He took up the march again and soon came to the Natchez village, where he was received with great joy and ceremony. With this tribe also he cemented a friendship with his tact and presents, especially the latter. This friendship might have been lasting if some years later the senseless conduct of the colonists had not incited the Natchez to break the treaty and wreak a bloody revenge on their French neighbors.

Leaving Bienville and the rest of the party here to make some necessary preparations for the Red River trip, Iberville himself set out with six men for the great Tensas village. Reaching the landing in a day and a half, he left the pirogue and started overland, but the guide lost his way, and the night was spent supperless in the woods. Next morning they found the lake, a mere cut-off of the river upon which the tribe lived, and at midday came to the village. As usual, Iberville was received with pomp and ceremony and immediately attached the Indians to him

by his tact and discretion. While at this village a great storm arose during which he became the horrified witness of human sacrifices to the God of Storms, which he checked only after five children had been burned. Here too he had accumulated a large store of provisions and other essentials for his expedition up the Red River, when his fever again became so high and the pain in his knee (probably rheumatic) so severe that he was compelled to abandon the trip, which had been planned primarily with intent to search for traces of La Salle and the unfortunate remnants of his expedition. Relinquishing his command to Bien-ville and sending Tonty on northward with presents for the Illinois Indians, he returned to the fort on the Mississippi. Making only a short stop at the Bayagoula village, he travelled express to the fort (named La Boulaye*), making the one hundred and twenty-six miles in thirty-three hours. He had travelled over two hundred leagues along the river and explored the shores, renewed his relations with the tribes and composed their differences. Ill as he was, his insatiable appetite for work and his indomitable will were not only undiminished but seemed to acquire a desperate intensity. The extent of his personal activities, however, was much circumscribed. But besides compelling the reluctant renunciation of the Red River trip his illness had much more serious conse-

* Fort La Boulaye was located on Poverty Point, about thirty-eight miles below New Orleans.

quences. By the attack of fever at this time the rugged health and iron constitution of the great Commander was broken. What the severe hardships of the Schenectady campaign and reckless exposure to the wintry tempests on ice-bound Newfoundland shores had failed to do was accomplished by the subtle and insidious fevers of the South. That wonderful physique was shattered. His old ambition burned fiercely, but it fed not on a robust constitution but upon his indomitable spirit and a body wherein waste already exceeded repair.

Inspired with lofty aims and driven by strenuous purpose, the drama of his life continued to unroll its numerous scenes. Tableau after tableau shows him wrestling from man and Nature those dearly bought victories. Unfortunately his intense application and even his many conquests, like those of the King, his master, were to avail him not at all in the attainment of his supreme and ultimate ambition. Such a drama could have but one, and that a tragic, ending. Yet confident in his strength and happily unsuspecting, he followed the stern behests of his all-compelling star, and wrung success with grim resolve from every opportunity. From this time on the contest was very unequal. Against him were ranged the hostile English, his envious countrymen in Canada, France, and San Domingo, the conservatism of the Court, the inconstancy of the Minister, the complications of European politics,

and the inert but no less serious obstacles of Nature. Nevertheless with health destroyed he valiantly pushed his unavailing battle, and eye held eye and point caught point as the ardent soul of Iberville fenced dauntlessly with Fate.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION AND THE RECON- NOISSANCE OF NEW YORK HARBOR

DURING the absence of the Le Moynes Fort La Boulaye had advanced but little. Many of the workmen were ill and unaccustomed to the climate, and under such conditions they worked very slowly when the driving energy of the Le Moynes was removed. They had discovered also that the location had been badly chosen. It was inundated at high tide, and with heavy rains and a south wind the water was sometimes two feet deep. The land in consequence became a bottomless quagmire on the subsidence of the waters. In spite of this misfortune, in spite of his pain and high fever, Iberville nevertheless hurried the workmen and sent the officers to find routes for the boats through the bayous. He sent to Sauvole at Biloxi for the bulls, cows, hogs, fowls, and other supplies for the new fort, and complacently reports that the trip was made by way of the river mouth in thirty-six hours. By the transport also he had news from Biloxi. De La Riola, the Governor of Pensacola, to show his authority or intimidate the French, had

paid them a visit with a frigate of twenty-four guns, two smaller armed vessels, and one hundred and forty men. He pompously came to make written protest against the settlement. The French out of their slender stores entertained him handsomely and sent him away with gratifying ceremony. A week later an open boat containing the pompous Spaniard, stripped of his pride and all his effects by the shipwreck of his entire fleet on Chandeleur Island and famishing from a five days' fast, arrived at Ship Island. Here was an opportunity to secure the friendship of the Spanish colony, and the French exerted themselves to relieve his necessities. The Governor was resupplied from the personal wardrobe of Iberville, and his men completely equipped from the scanty French store.

Bienville, the youth of twenty, returned at this time from his expedition. He had left on March 22 with twenty-two Canadians and six Tensas Indians for his exploring trip up the Red River. Their course took them through swamps, sloughs, and little rivers which they waded day after day, sometimes to the neck and nearly always to the thighs or waist. Bienville naively states that a medium-sized man is at a great disadvantage in such a country, because, while some of his men were in water only to the waist, he and others were nearly swimming, and pushing their packs before them on rafts—their usual method of crossing rivers. At such

times it was necessary to fire their guns frequently to frighten away the alligators. By the end of the second day all the Indians deserted, because they could not stand the day-long exposure in cold water. Besides it rained nearly every day, so that they were deprived even of the comfort of a dry camp when they were able to find a resting place above the level of the swamp. Owing to the rains also the water continued to rise until finally they chopped out tree trunks with their hatchets and made pirogues. These helped some, but, as the current of the river now became very strong, their progress was extremely slow. Four weeks had been spent in this constant battle with Nature when Bienville decided to fall back, and on the twenty-third of April he began the descent of Red River in four pirogues, in which after considerable difficulty he arrived, on May 18, at the ships.

As he came down the Mississippi he learned that the Bayagoulas had exterminated their village associates, the Mougoulachas, and filled their places with other Indians. Iberville derived some satisfaction from this, since, as he says, the event gives him a good title to the greater portion of the Bayagoula village, for it had belonged to this Mougoulacha chief from whom he had bought it. Bienville's expedition had not failed, however, for, in addition to the acquisition of very necessary information about the country and the distant tribes,

it had demonstrated anew the rare qualities of leadership which all the Le Moynes possessed to a degree only slightly less than their great brother, and it gave Bienville his title to an actual and enduring dominance in the colony.

Montigny and Davion, the seminary priests, again came down the river on a visit about this time and brought the disquieting news that the English were tampering with the Indians to the north. They brought with them a letter from Tonty in which he described his efforts to counteract these conditions by telling the Indians, as Iberville suggested, of the superior trading advantages which the French could offer. From these priests Iberville tried to secure information about the upper Mississippi and its great tributaries on the west, such as the Missouri, for at this time he was deeply interested in the exploration of the sources of the great river and was considering a voyage into the interior to discover, if possible, the "waters of the western sea." In this project, however, he received no aid or encouragement from the missionaries, who knew nothing of the tributaries nor of the country except near the river itself.

After making one more visit to his fort on the Mississippi to regulate affairs there, he took his departure on May 28, 1700. In pursuance of the design against the Atlantic seaboard which he had been considering for several years, Iberville con-

cluded that this was as good a time as any to get the necessary data, and so, ill as he was, he sailed directly for New York harbor. His arrival on June 20 created great consternation. The Governor of the port reported his presence to Lord Bellomont, of the Captain Kidd connection, who in turn informed the "Lords of Trade," and much correspondence was exchanged in efforts to have the fortifications improved. For, as Bellomont said, while Iberville stated that he had only called for "wood and water" while *en route* from the Mississippi to France, yet this harbor was very much out of his way and there was no doubt that he was exploring it with ulterior designs. Iberville had entered the harbor by the assistance of an old fisherman who lived well down the bay, and he spent from four to six weeks making soundings until, as he wrote the Minister, he could "easily enter without a pilot." Having completed his work without disturbance, he detached a Jesuit to carry despatches overland to Canada and himself sailed for France. Here he was so ill that for weeks he was unable to make his report to the Minister. At length in October he began to improve, and his report was sent in.

The Cabinet agreed from necessity and without enthusiasm that Louisiana must be occupied. They were unable to rise to the heights reached by La Salle and Iberville, who saw the opportunity in their very hands to secure to France a dominion

illimitable in extent and incalculably wealthy, as well as a definite means of checking the growing power of the aggressive English. The Cabinet felt none of this; they saw only the present, and unless a profitable return could be promised that would immediately fill the empty coffers of the King, the undertaking did not appeal to them. They doubtless believed that they were pouring out a vast treasure that could better be employed nearer home than in those countries from which, as they now felt, the reports had been over-enthusiastic. "Meanwhile, as the river is at least eight hundred leagues in length and flows through a beautiful country from which great riches can ultimately be drawn, it will be necessary to guard the mouth." From this post also it was thought it would be easy to reach the Spanish mines in New Mexico. Pontchartrain finally admitted, as the conclusion of his cautious report, that it was necessary to bar the road to the English on the east.

While Iberville was receiving such meticulous and half-hearted support from his Government, Peter the Great about the same time (1703) laid the foundations of St. Petersburg. He began with a barren and uncultivated island which in Winter was a frozen swamp and in Summer a heap of mud into which there was no entry except through pathless forests and deep morasses haunted only by wolves and bears. Clearing the forests, draining the marshes, and raising the

banks, he converted this desolate and uninviting spot in three years into a thriving seaport of one hundred and fifty thousand people resting on the edge of the harbor, which was filled with shipping. If Louis XIV had supported Iberville even to the extent of permitting him to bring to his colony the hundreds of thousands of Huguenots who were eager to leave France, this numerous and industrious French population would have taken possession of the Mississippi Valley to its remote tributaries, Iberville's problem would have solved itself, and the future of America would have experienced an inconceivable change.

CHAPTER XV

AFFAIRS OF STATE IN FRANCE AND SPAIN — THE COLONY MOVES TO MOBILE

IBERVILLE now began preparations for a third and larger expedition. He intended to execute thoroughly the plan of blocking the English by a line of interior forts before resuming his more congenial method of frontal attack. Meanwhile some interesting events were taking place in Europe which were destined quite definitely to influence his designs. In some ways these changes advanced, nay, even hurried his plans, while in others obstacles arose which seriously affected the Louisiana question. King William of England at this time was earnestly beset by interested parties who demanded assistance in taking possession of the territory visited by Captain Banks. Among the most urgent was the son of Daniel Coxe, the man who had borne the principal expense of that expedition. Aid was promised, but before it could be furnished an event occurred which demanded the undivided attention of both England and France. The colonies were forgotten and buried out of sight in the selfish interests of the Mother Countries.

Early in 1700 the King of Spain lay dying and several princes laid claim to the succession. The King's eldest sister had married Louis XIV. The Dauphin therefore in the common course of inheritance would have succeeded to the throne, but Louis and the Infanta at the time of their espousals had solemnly renounced for herself and her heirs all claim to the Spanish Crown. Soon after the Peace of Ryswick, William III and Louis XIV, without consulting the King of Spain, had drawn up a treaty of partition and settled the succession on the Prince of Bavaria, the son of a younger sister of King Charles of Spain. Charles, anxious to avoid dismemberment of the empire, made a will also leaving the Crown to the Prince of Bavaria. The ink on these various instruments was hardly dry when the Prince of Bavaria died. Louis and William again drew up a partition treaty which settled the succession upon the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor of Germany, and satisfied the various other claimants and their friends by presenting them with selected portions of the Spanish possessions. In spite of the secrecy with which it was drawn, intelligence of the second partition treaty reached Madrid, where it roused to momentary energy the languishing ruler of a languishing State. A wave of wrath swept over Spain, and the dying King instructed his ambassadors to remonstrate at the Courts of England and France, while simultaneously he dismissed the ambassadors

of England and Holland, which States either he held most at fault or feared least. When at length he was at the point of death, he yielded to the influences about him and made another will which remained secret during the rest of his life. November 1, 1700, he died. All Madrid crowded to the palace. The gates were thronged. The antechamber was filled with ambassadors and grandees eager to learn what disposition had been made of the Crown. At length the folding doors were flung open. The Duke of Abrantis came forth and announced that the whole Spanish monarchy was bequeathed to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the son of the Dauphin.

With hardly a moment of hesitation, Louis XIV broke his obligation in the treaty of partition as well as that made at his marriage, and accepted for his grandson the splendid legacy of Charles. The indifference of the English people as well as the unpopularity of William and his ambitious would have made this course perfectly safe if pride or passion had not urged Louis to go farther. Just at this crisis, the most important in his life, he committed an error which undid all that forty years of victory and intrigue had accomplished, and produced the dismemberment of the kingdom of his grandson, and brought invasion, bankruptcy, and famine on his own. James II died at St. Germain, and Louis acknowledged his son King of England. The indignation which the Castilians had felt when they heard that

three foreign powers had undertaken to regulate the Spanish succession was nothing to the rage with which the English learned that their good neighbor Louis had undertaken to provide them with a King. The English rushed to arms as one man, and the War of the Spanish Succession had begun.

The ever sensitive Spanish pride had been greatly outraged by the treatment which that nation had received by interference in America, and they lost no opportunity of showing their resentment. The hanging of Verrazzano, the navigator, captured in 1528, and taken to Porto Rico charged with trespassing on Spanish territory; and the sickening murder of Jean Ribaut with one hundred and fifty of his disarmed and shackled companions by Menendez in 1565, are but two of the numerous instances which attest only too well the rigorous interpretation of the Spanish claims in the New World. Obligated to yield many of their pretensions, they retired inch by inch until the Gulf of Mexico remained as their final stronghold. Seignelay had also seen, in the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf, a means whereby a post could be established that would serve as a protection to the French in peace, as a base in case of war, and ultimately result in the expulsion of the Spanish. A part of this the Spaniards also saw and feared. La Salle had been hunted up and down the coast by a hundred men under De Leon, but the wreck of the ships and the cunningly hidden camp on Matagorda

Bay had led them to believe that the French had all been destroyed, until, on pushing up to Cenís, two Frenchmen were captured and sent to Spain, at which time the truth was discovered about La Salle. The Viceroy thereupon decided to plant a post at La Salle's camp on Matagorda Bay (Fort St. Louis), and in 1690 the St. Francis of Assisi Mission was established with one hundred and ten men. The King of Spain then ordered that all the Indians of Texas should be reduced to obedience. This apparently simple subjugation was finally accomplished by United States troops under General Miles in 1886, two hundred years later.

Governor Galva of Coahuila and of Texas (1691) went with fifty soldiers and seven priests to establish posts on Red River, at Natchez, and on Guadalupe River, but owing to crop failures and Indian hostility they were abandoned (1693). The capture of Vera Cruz by the filibusters, the expedition against Cartagena (1697) following the plans of La Salle, with other similar happenings, did not cause the Spanish to relish France for a neighbor. Then a plan came to light in which the Spaniards purposed capturing San Domingo, and the French realized that something must be done to make the Indies safe. The Peace of Ryswick seemed to satisfy for a time.

After the death of Charles II of Spain that nation very naturally looked to France for the protection of the new King against the ambitions of other

States. It was under such conditions that Louis dreamed of occupying Louisiana, and Iberville in the new war saw for himself an opportunity to execute some of his long-maturing designs against the English.

Iberville had sailed and returned, had sailed and returned, and was about to sail again. He recognized how thoroughly his projects annoyed the Spanish, for they could not conceal it. The Spanish ships at Pensacola which he had found during his first voyage had gone there, as he fully believed, on advices from Europe so as to be the first on the ground. This idea had also occurred to Beaujeu, as one recalls his objections to the first Iberville expedition. The Spanish had made quick protest against the settlement at Biloxi; nevertheless the French had given food to the Spanish fleet in the first voyage and succored the shipwrecked Governor in the second. Relying upon these evidences of French favor and the Spanish desire for protection, Pontchartrain wished to profit by the circumstances to induce Spain to give up Pensacola to France,—otherwise the Minister intended to send Iberville to occupy Mobile, this being in his opinion a more suitable site for a fort than the mouth of the Mississippi. The negotiations however were not easy, and much time was consumed, so that upon Iberville's return from his second trip Pontchartrain requested him to frame a memorial that would aid in bringing Spain to terms.

The face of Iberville as seen in his portrait reveals a high intelligence joined to the decision of a soldier. This double character we know, but his correspondence at this time shows something more, — a politic spirit which well understood the scheme of things which he was preparing for America and which he was destined to inaugurate. The manner of announcing it is notable. He completed his memoir in three weeks while at Paris in January, 1701. It had for its object to prove that the Spanish should not take offence at the Mississippi colony since those colonies protected New Spain against England. He prepared a plan of campaign to resist if possible the encroachments of the English in America. He reiterated his previous prophecies in regard to the English advance and made deductions from what he had already seen. The English from Virginia had armed the Chickasaws with guns and joined with them in pursuit of neighboring peoples, in particular the Colapissas. They had sent away the prisoners to be sold as slaves and kept the children for slaves of their own. He felt sure that if present tendencies were not changed the English in forty or fifty years would occupy all the territory up to the Mississippi, which he says is “the most beautiful country in all the world.”

“They will have the power in connection with the Indians to make themselves masters of all America and the greater part of Mexico, and all can be accomplished before it is even known in France and Spain that such an action is

contemplated. While the country now occupied is extensive, that is no reason against preventing the ruin of the colonies of France and Spain in America and, above all, Mexico, by throwing a good colony promptly into the vicinity of the Mississippi that empties into the Gulf, to occupy Mobile and to hinder the progress of the English."

Iberville showed also why the Spanish posts at Apalachicola, St. Augustine and Pensacola in Florida, at St. Bernard, and with the Ceniz in Texas, would not suffice to preserve their possessions against the encroachment of the English. The redoubtable warrior was learning the tricks of statecraft. "If the Spanish do not consent," he writes, "and this can only arise from ignorance or obstinacy, I will erect a fortification at Mobile, make peace with the Chickasaws, and arm them against their neighbors."

This memorial was presented by the Spanish ambassador to the Junta, who replied that they could not permit strangers to settle at Pensacola, as that would give them the means, if they increased, of disturbing the most fertile country in New Spain and also the navigation between Vera Cruz and Havana. The Junta added, with characteristic pride, that the English colonies were not so dangerous as those of Iberville, and in respect to the French colony on the Mississippi, a territory belonging to Spain, they hoped that Louis XIV would soon order his commanders to receive the patents of his Most Catholic Majesty, who ought to hold them for his own subjects.

This was the meeting of June 6, 1701. In that of June 21 the Junta declared that the King of Spain had the power of uniting to his colonies and under his protection those which the French had usurped on the Mississippi River, which was the greatest ornament of his crown. One of the counsellors remarked that he could not submit to having any other nation occupy those posts or shores which had been intrusted solely to Spain by Pope Alexander VI under pain of excommunication.

Pontchartrain, urging the justice of his claim and invoking the bonds that held the two nations, concluded, nevertheless, that Louis XIV would not abandon his settlements on the Mississippi River, which he could conduct with as good title as in Canada, and even if it were true that the Spanish descended the river, they had made no colonies there.

The young Minister had in fact gone beyond the stage of negotiation, and toward the end of 1701 was sending Iberville to occupy Mobile, since he could not obtain possession of Pensacola. Besides being the better site for a colony, Mobile was a better base from which to watch the Spanish. Taking possession of this post he regarded as an act of force, but not of violence.

This was the time which Iberville chose again to urge his plan for the attack on Boston and New York. After a general description of the topographical features of the country which shows his familiarity with

his subject, he presents in exhaustive detail that design lost at sea which was referred to on an earlier page.* “The essential point,” he says, “is to get possession of Boston, but there are many risks and obstacles to be encountered.”

Referring to a similar plan presented by the Marquis de Nesmond, he adds :

“Nothing seems difficult to persons without experience, but unless we are prepared to raise a large and costly armament our only hope is in surprise. We should make the attack in winter, while the seafaring population is absent and the mechanics who are left are ill prepared for fighting and not expecting an enemy. One thousand Canadians, four hundred regulars, and as many Indians should leave Quebec in November, ascend the Chaudière, cross the height of land, and descend the Kennebec. Boston should be approached with the utmost secrecy under cover of the forest and carried by night attack. This should be easy, as they have no standing army and no discipline.”

New York, he thinks, would not only refuse to aid, but would rejoice to see the fall of her rival, Boston ; “then it in turn can be attacked.”

“Surprise,” “winter campaign,” “night attack,” how familiar these sound to one who has followed his operations ! How thoroughly characteristic, as well, is his reliance upon his trusty Canadians ! Who, to be sure, could lead such an expedition to success but Iberville ? He says :

* See p. 94.

“A man who makes it a point of honor to accomplish what he undertakes, manages so as to adopt the best measures. I maintain that in carrying out that project, which appears highly problematical, it is impossible to take the place [Boston] except with a considerable body of troops and an armament such as I describe, and I maintain that the only means to become master of it by land is to surprise it, by conducting troops thither across the woods and the unfrequented places. My experience in Canada and its strength leaves me no doubt that it can furnish eighteen hundred men capable of undergoing the fatigue necessary to be endured in order to penetrate into Boston across woods and rivers. This opinion will appear impossible to many officers whose rank and seniority would lead them to expect the command of this affair, and I doubt not but they will oppose it; not feeling strong enough to put themselves at the head of a detachment which is to be conducted with the utmost vigor, they will not fail to impress as much as possible that summer would be best adapted for executing this design. If persons capable of enduring fatigue of so trying a war are put at the head of vigorous young men, I make bold to say, there is no need of managing the enemy in that country; that effective war consists in the most active and prompt operations, and that marching against the enemy with drums beating has always afforded them time to withdraw into places of security.

“Those who draw up plans in expectation of seeing others execute them, give themselves little concern whether success will attend their views. They propose nothing but what I am willing to execute. If attention is paid to the success attendant on all my projects, it will be seen that I have succeeded at Hudson’s Bay, at Castor in the capture of Pemaquid, Newfoundland, and finally in the discovery of the Mississippi, where my predecessors have failed. If my memorials be reexamined, it will be seen that I have

submitted nothing but what was correct and what I have adhered to. I hope the memoir which I now submit respecting Boston will not be less digested, and I doubt whether success can be otherwise gained. I repeat that few persons are so well qualified as I to succeed herein, for I am persuaded that every one in Canada, whether Frenchman or Indian, will feel a pleasure in following me, and that the officers will evince no difficulty, being commanded by a gentleman of that Navy from which they are detached."

Impracticable as it probably was, the above memorial to the Minister exhibits the tenacity of purpose, the resolution, and the strong national feeling which animated Iberville. In this proposal made at a time when he had barely recovered from a long and dangerous illness, he invited hardships which seasoned officers, as he says, would shrink from undertaking. What he promises, that is, what he sets out to accomplish, he certainly performs, and that too without the beating of drums or the blowing of trumpets. He inspires the feeling that his plan, impossible as it seems, might have succeeded only too well from the sheer force of the leader's iron determination. Nothing ever resulted from these plans, and Iberville soon took up another when the opportunity presented, which required activity by sea.

Owing to his illness, Iberville had hitherto been unable to return to the colony which he was eagerly building, but he had sent supplies in the *Enflammée*,

which arrived in May, 1700. These stores, however, were only temporary in character and not sufficient in quantity, and were to be followed by another shipment. Again in a few months the *Pelican* appeared with supplies in which the thoughtful care of the Commander was everywhere apparent. He was still far from well, but nevertheless he made arrangements for a new expedition in the vessels at his disposal. Having waited until the last moment for the return of the *Enflammée* or word from the Junta, he at length decided to sail. His ships were ready, and, taking command of the *Renommée* again with the *Palmier* under his brother Serigny, they took their departure, arriving at Pensacola November 24, 1701. Here they learned of the death of Sauvole, and in turn gave the joyful information to the Spanish of the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the throne of Spain. The Spanish Commander begged Iberville to delay his project at least until he could secure advices from Vera Cruz, but this was refused. Iberville said he had only two months to stay on the coast, which was little enough time for the proper execution of his orders, and that the work must proceed. A boat was sent to Biloxi with orders to Bienville to transport everything to Mobile. Serigny and Chateauguay met them with men and materials from Pensacola, and then a large party advanced up the Bay to take possession in the name of the King. Iberville himself did not go to Mobile at first, being confined

to bed by an abscess in his side from which he had suffered ever since leaving San Domingo. His efficiency, however, in this instance was not greatly diminished. Every day his orders went out, now for building the royal magazines on Massacre Island and locating the new establishment on Mobile Bay,* then to send reinforcements to the workmen, or to direct the construction of flatboats. The success of the Commander's plans at Mobile was largely due to the careful attention of his brothers, Serigny, Bienville, and Chateauguay, who enforced their execution with all the vigorous spirit of the family.† Tonty, who had been compelled by royal order to abandon Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, now came down to join Iberville, who sent him as ambassador to the Chickasaws and Choctaws with instructions if possible to bring some of the chiefs down to Mobile for general council.

The port at Mobile had excellent depth of water for vessels, was well protected from the winds, and more defensible than Pensacola. On March 3 Iberville felt well enough to make a visit to the fort, and, taking the *Palmier* with the last cargo of provisions, he sailed through the little channel south of Massacre Island, of which he had learned from a Spanish pilot.

* The settlement was located upon or near Dog River.

† Gabriel Le Moyne d'Assigny, at this time twenty years of age, accompanied his brother on this expedition, but owing to illness he remained at San Domingo, where he died before Iberville's return. — De Lisle, quoted by Heinrich.

As the *Palmier* went through the channel, Iberville remarked that the difficult entrance would make it easy to defend, but he feared a strong south wind might shift the bar at the mouth and close the channel,—an event which happened just as he predicted, about twenty years later. Crossing the bay and ascending the river, he found Bienville in the midst of operations, clearing the forest, building a boat and the fort. He was greatly delighted with the site selected for the fort. It had been beautifully chosen, on a bluff raised more than twenty feet from the water and covered with a thick growth of white and red oak, laurels, sassafras, and other Southern woods, but especially favored with pines suitable for masts. He took advantage of the latter endowment to replace in the *Palmier* a mast lost on the recent voyage. Bienville was sent by Iberville to explore the bay and take soundings. He began with the small islands, and on one he found five figures—a man, woman, child, bear, and owl—which the Indians worshipped. These images he took to his brother, much to the astonishment of the Indians, who expected to see his temerity severely punished. Iberville thought the figures might be the work of the Spanish under De Soto, and carried them with him to France. Thirty miles above the fort were the Mobile Indians, and five or six miles beyond them the villages of the Tohomes were scattered along the islands and banks of the river in small groups. These were the Indians who by their

industry and frugality furnished the French with the food which many times saved them from starvation.

Iberville now drew the alignments of the future city and marked out the allotments. The four families he had brought with him were located and started to clear their land. Messengers from Tonty then came in, announcing the speedy arrival of the Choctaw and Chickasaw chiefs whom he had gone to visit and convert to French interests. They arrived at night, and the next morning were assembled by Bienville, who acted as interpreter for his brother. Iberville felicitated them on their desire for peace, and warned them against the ruinous designs of the English, who armed tribe against tribe until all were exterminated. He gave them many presents as an aid in convincing them, and painted in glowing colors the benefits to be derived from the French alliance, threatening them besides that he would arm the neighboring tribes against them if they made trouble. They were easily convinced by the combination of argument, bribe, and menace. Iberville calculated this would mean about two thousand Chickasaws and four thousand Choctaws allied to the Crown of France. The friendship of these tribes was very necessary, since, like the Iroquois, they occupied a very important strategic position between the French and English colonists. Upon their return Iberville sent Canadians with them to locate trading stations near their villages. Letters were also sent through them to Quebec,

asking for missionaries to be located among them for the salvation of their souls — and France. Well satisfied with his work, Iberville returned on the next day to the frigate, thence to Pensacola, and on April 29 he sailed for France. With him too went Le Sueur, who had returned from his adventurous trip up the Mississippi with his two-masted felucca and twenty-five men. He had reached Lake Pepin after many hardships. Thence he moved to Blue Earth River, where he built a stockade and spent the Winter of 1700–1701 killing buffalo and trading with the Sioux. He returned bringing a load of earth stained blue with silicate of iron which he thought was valuable ore. His felucca was the first decked and shipbuilt vessel to sail on the upper Mississippi.

When Iberville sailed, it was with the full intent to return to his colony the following year, but this was the last time his colony or his brother was to behold him. His destiny approached its accomplishment.

Nevertheless the proud, ambitious Iberville flung himself unsparingly against the obstacles of Nature with the same high courage with which he smote his English foes. Sick but unsubdued, toiling feverishly amid the canebrakes and cypress swamps of tropical Louisiana, he developed his drama, in a gloom that was lighted only by occasional gleams of the courtly splendors at Versailles, while in the imminent background, over the swiftly spinning strands, the inexorable Sisters bent with watchful eyes and ever ready shears.

CHAPTER XVI

FURTHER PROJECTS AGAINST THE ENGLISH— DEATH OF IBERVILLE

THE return of Iberville to France in 1702 was very different from that of 1700. His success was quite vexatious to Beaujeu, who frankly said so in his letter to Villemont. The Spanish, contrary to the prognostics of Beaujeu, had not interfered with the French colonies. This, however, was largely due to the wisdom and tact with which Iberville had managed them, as well as the impression which they quickly received that he was a man of ability and determination whom it was not safe to arouse. The evident commercial value of the new territory also awakened much interest. Thus Thoynard* showed a more than casual curiosity in this phase of the work, and questioned Iberville very closely on the general appearance and products of the country. Speaking of Mobile, Iberville wrote Thoynard about the beauty of the surrounding country, the fertility of the soil, the

* Thoynard had awaited the return of Iberville with the utmost impatience. Sérigny promised to send him news immediately, but he was ordered to Hudson Bay before the arrival of the frigates.

depth of water in the harbor, and his friendly relations with the Indians. He says also :

“I have built a fort seventy leagues above Mobile, about ten leagues from the Chickasaws, and eight leagues from the Choctaws, where Tonty commands with twenty men. At present we are masters of nearly twenty-four thousand Indians, of whom eighteen thousand are within one hundred and fifty leagues of the fort, and by horse we can communicate in twelve days with the Illinois Indians, and in only twenty days could reach Maryland and Virginia.”

Thoynard, however, was more curious about the commercial possibilities than the military advantages, and he desires to know how much copper and lead Le Sueur brought down with him, and its character, and whether it had been found superficially or deep. He inquires if silkworms had been seen, if he had planted corn, and if so if it came up and when, and if any attempt had been made to domesticate the buffalo. Iberville had developed many views on the commercial possibilities of Louisiana which personal observations had inspired, fortified by his knowledge of the savages and their activities in time of peace. He figured that from 16,000 to 24,000 cattle skins and 500 deer skins which he proposed bringing over ought to return more than 2,500,000 fr., besides which one could get from four to five pounds of good wool from each hide at 20 sous, and two pounds of hair at 10 sous, while the skins of other animals

like bear, wolves, wildcats, foxes, and martens would bring at least 200,000 livres, which under conditions then present would bring the King more than 250,000 livres in customs. As usual, the idea of commerce kept rhythmic pace with the enlargement of the boundaries.

Iberville, beguiling the opposition of the Spanish, had marked the boundaries in the east, as La Salle with his blood had consecrated them in the west. The French colony was a wedge between the English and Spanish colonies as in La Salle's time, but the policy of France at the two epochs was widely different. La Salle had entered the Mississippi Valley as an enemy of Spain, following the traditions of French politics since the era of Francis I, while Iberville had located himself as the ostensible and even ostentatious friend and auxiliary of Spain. Meanwhile he gradually diverted the Spanish Indians to the French posts and the Spanish commerce of Havana, Pensacola, and Vera Cruz to French ports.

It is unquestionably true that by early education and environment Iberville had acquired a strong antagonism to the English that was racial as well as temperamental, and this had been intensified by his many conflicts with them. It is possible that this antagonism had forced upon him the idea of combining with the Spanish to resist English aggression, but there is no reason to believe that he

would have maintained such an allegiance longer than was desirable from a French standpoint, nor that he would not have opposed the Spanish as readily as the English if they had not shown themselves more tractable in his skilful hands. But while adroitly managing the supercilious and decadent Spanish as policy demanded, he never for a moment forgot his more vigorous and dangerous foes, the English. Hence we see him again at work on his scheme for the fortification of the interior with a chain of forts which were to be placed at the mouth of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Arkansas, and one each on the Ohio and Missouri Rivers. This he thought would prevent the Anglo-Indian alliances and the English attempts at colonization. In connection with this plan he also developed a scheme for moving the tribes from their various homes to establishments that he would select as most advantageous for their concentration, and thus constitute formidable *foci* of antagonism to the English. He calculated that in this way an army properly equipped of about 12,000 Indians could be kept at hand, and a descent on the English colonies would always be possible. He hoped too that he might enlist the interest of the Indians by furnishing them with goods at a lower price than the English could do, since in the absence of water highways it would be necessary for their goods to be brought across the mountains on horses.

Thus he would safeguard Canada, Acadia, and, by the same token, Mexico, by his establishment in Louisiana, — at least Mexico would be open only to the French. In this plan he recognized the fundamental differences between the English and the French, — the English as agriculturists, attached to the soil and spreading by continuity; the French, traders over vast territories, roaming and wishing to roam, culling the richest and choicest of the products, but gradually pressed aside by the steady, relentless encroachment of the English. Quite naturally, however, he did not realize that this fundamental difference was fatal to the ultimate success of his theory.

Meanwhile Canada felt an increasing hostility to his projects which blazed forth in 1703 when it was expected that Iberville would be made Governor-General of the new colony. They complained that he diverted the trade in beaver to Louisiana.* They insinuated in Quebec and even in his home at Montreal that he sought only his own advantage at their expense, and so they sent their emissaries to antagonize his plans among the Indians, and at the same time these agents were instructed to conceal themselves from him and not see him lest they be corrupted. All who approached him or were associated with him, even his brothers and friends in Canada, were suspected of being bound to his in-

* Callières to the Minister.

terest, and his friends complained to him of the humiliation and indignity which his plans drew upon them. Even Maricourt, who had just negotiated an advantageous peace with the Iroquois, was not free from reproach.

Thus Iberville, while inheriting the unfinished plans of La Salle, also inherited the hostile sentiment of the Canadians, though to a less serious degree, because he made friends more easily and the antagonism was not complicated by the hatred of the religious orders. It is noticeable, too, that there is always a spirit of jealousy aroused against those who establish themselves in the interior or nearer the founts of trade. Quebec was jealous of Montreal, and both were jealous of the pioneers on the lakes, in the Mississippi Valley, and in Louisiana. The Canadian hostility had become more marked since 1701, when the King, replying to an inquiry of Governor Callières, had said that it was his intention to maintain Louisiana as a separate colony, since it seemed easier and speedier to govern it direct than via Quebec. To Iberville it seemed quite rational that the St. Lawrence basin should constitute one colony and the Mississippi River Valley another, since the commerce as a means of economy should be by water from the mouth of each river to the interior. At the same time Ducasse and San Domingo were antagonized by the same means and for the same reason as Callières and Canada.

Thus a web of jealousy, envy, dissimulation, self-interest, anger, and wounded pride was gradually woven to restrain the activities of the great Canadian and to minimize the results.

Nicholas de la Salle,* the commissary of the King at Mobile, was engaged most actively in bringing accusations against the "league of brothers," whose constant success and growing influence aroused his spiteful animosity. Neither mechanical obstacles nor accusations against their characters were spared. As for Iberville, he complained only of those who impugned the honesty of his intentions. He asked if he ought to be treated like an Englishman or other enemy of his country, and if it was right that his relatives and friends should be made to suffer on his account. He was particularly sensitive to those attacks from Canada, in whose behalf he had toiled terribly and toward which his heart ever turned as home. He felt keenly that the Canadians belittled him when the colonies clashed by contrasting their liberality with his poverty. These attacks, however, by men of no name or standing, have left few traces save only the memory of the obstacles he had to encounter, and his perseverance in the midst of miseries and perfidies more cruel and often harder to bear than his physical trials as a soldier

* Nicholas de la Salle was not related to Robert Cavalier, although associated with him. He wrote a memoir in 1685 on the discoveries of the latter.

I A N E



EXIQUE

A PARIS

L'Autheur le S^r. Delisle
le graveur le S^r. ...

Debarquement de Fernand Soto l'an 1539



(Original in possession of Chicago Historical Society)

Shows (a) De Soto's wanderings in 1540; (b) La Salle's landing, his journey to the interior, and place of his death; (c) Tonty's journey to the Chickasaws; (d) the old forts at Biloxi, on Mobile Bay, and on the Mississippi River below New Orleans; (e) route of Bienville from Tensas village to Red River



and seaman. Whatever was alleged against his person, they must admit the more prominent fact that he accomplished much. Whether, as charged, he had affairs apart from those of the King is not known, but it is known that he acquired renown, extended the power of France, and commenced the work of colonization in the South. His means were modest, for, in spite of great efforts, the little colony had only sixty-four Canadians, where he wished to bring one hundred and fifty families, which he thought would suffice until peace would permit him to do more. From 1700 his health had been profoundly affected. He suffered intensely and almost constantly with rheumatism, besides which he had had one attack of yellow fever and a dangerous abscess which required an operation. His illness had been so severe that he had been unable to return to the colony in 1703, but sent the *Loire* with seventeen passengers, 60,000 livres of money, and provisions and stores for the colony, promising to come himself on the *Pelican* in September. In this year also he prepared an expedition consisting of the *Pelican*, the *Renommée*, and a small frigate to attack the Virginian coast, but, owing to European complications, as appears from a letter of Pontchartrain, the project had to be abandoned.

The *Pelican* arrived in Louisiana again in the Summer of 1704, but again without the Commander,

though his personal care and interest were in evidence in every part of the cargo, which included French girls as wives for the restless Canadians, whom Iberville hoped thereby to domesticate and anchor to the colony. But besides such blessings as live stock, food, and merchandise, the ship also brought the curse of yellow fever from San Domingo, and this slew two-thirds of the colonists, among whom was the efficient, loyal, gallant Tonty. Iberville himself had never recovered entirely from his fever. In February, 1704, he was again summoned to Paris, and was there assigned to his long-desired expedition against the English colonial coast. With high courage he set about his preparations in spite of his fever, but he became so ill that the expedition was again abandoned. His life was despaired of. His brother Serigny and his wife hastened to his side, and under their loving care he began to improve slowly. But neither the continued misfortune that seemed to attend this particular expedition nor his own personal suffering in any measure abated the eagerness of his temperament. When he had nearly recovered, he announced to the Cabinet his readiness to make an attack on his old enemies, the English, in the Barbadoes and other western islands.

This was but a part of his general scheme toward securing French dominion in the Mississippi Valley and upon the Gulf. His previous experience with

the English inspired him with confidence, while his coolness and intrepidity, united to his great sagacity and growing political force, made him a dominant factor that might easily give rise to that groundless suspicion, more than once mentioned, that he wished to create a Government of his own in connection with his league of brothers, the Canadian Maccabees. Much glory, to be sure, had come to him, but, in the way of actual compensation, very little. Though he had not yet received his commission, he had been made the first Governor-General of Louisiana, an appointment which made him Commander-in-Chief of all the French possessions on the Gulf and north along the Mississippi to the ill-defined boundaries of New France. This comprised practically all of the vast territory which the United States subsequently acquired by the Louisiana Purchase. This, in addition to his titles Chevalier de St. Louis (1699) and Capitaine de Vaisseau (1702), gave him much honor, but he still felt the need of an income that would provide for his own necessities and those of his family and dependants; so he asked for the title of Count with a definite salary and for permission to enter the slave trade. In thanking the King for his last honor, he delicately inquired why the services of his brother Maricourt in negotiating the important Iroquois treaty had not been recognized in some way. The query was not answered, and

beyond the inadequate and unremunerative grant of a tract of wilderness on Chaleurs Bay in Acadia (1691) and the seigniorship which his father received, neither Minister nor King ever recognized officially and materially the immense services rendered to France by Iberville and his family, or his companions in arms.*

His latest offer to serve against the English was accepted, and Iberville the colonist again appears in the more familiar and congenial role of Iberville the warrior. Taking his brother Chateauguay, he departed with vessels and three hundred men to harass the English commerce and attack the English islands. On his way to the Barbadoes he attacked the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher in April, 1706, and secured their surrender with all their goods, chattels, horses, cattle, and sheep, besides seven thousand negroes. He captured seventeen hundred and fifty men and thirty ships, one being a man-of-war and the rest armed merchantmen. All this immense wealth he poured into Martinique, his temporary place of deposit, and nearly swamped that little city with the sudden abundance.

His instructions as usual were "general," and he now saw his way clear to make that long-delayed and eagerly anticipated attack upon the English

* He had suggested that a more lasting recognition of his services could be effected by naming after him some portion of the country he had explored and developed around Mobile, but even this gratification was not accorded him.

colonies which he had first conceived during the Pemaquid campaign. For a whole decade he had conducted his operations with this darling plan in his mind. Every year it had been deferred, and now, with his fine fleet manned by enthusiastic and devoted crews, with an undivided command, and a splendid prestige, he determined to sweep the Atlantic coast as clean as Hudson Bay. The opportunity and the man stood face to face. He made sail westward with the intention of gathering up any stray vessels of the colonial merchant fleets, after which he purposed to ravage the coast systematically from Charleston to Boston, whence he could return to Louisiana with his victorious and heavily laden ships. First, however, for this more extensive undertaking he thought to add to his equipment. On such an expedition it was especially necessary to go fully prepared. He therefore made a landing at Havana to take on additional supplies and a thousand Spanish auxiliaries. Thus Iberville planned, but the plans of men rest on the knees of the gods. His thoroughness in this instance was unfortunate to the last degree. His errand proved fatal, for an epidemic was raging, and the unconquered warrior who had run the gantlet of twenty years of close warfare was destroyed by the bite of a mosquito. He died, not as a hero should, in the splendid hour of victory, but, with body poised and hand drawn back to launch the

bolt, he was betrayed and insidiously undone. For twenty years he had sought a soldier's death, but even this reward was denied him. He fell a victim to the second attack of yellow fever, which in his already reduced health ended his life on July 9, 1706.*

Three months afterward his brother Le Moyne de Chateauguay brought the sorrowful news to Bienville and the little orphaned colony at Mobile.

To the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard the death of their inveterate foe brought a shudder of relief, while his loss was bewailed, not in France, to which his exploits had brought an empire, nor yet in his natal province of Canada, the recipient of his glory and the principal beneficiary of his victories, not in civilized communities, but rather among the barbarian and hostile Iroquois, who thoroughly respected and could in a measure appreciate the dominant qualities of his chieftainship; here indeed his demise was mourned with the pomp and ceremony of a tribal misfortune.

* Ever since the attack on Pemaquid and Newfoundland it had been well understood among the English colonists that Iberville was only awaiting a favorable opportunity to ravage their coasts. When the news of his capture of the islands of Nevis and St. Kitts was brought to the colonies, the alarm spread clear to Boston, and was removed only when the subsequent rumor of his death had been confirmed.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

IBERVILLE had given his country enormous conquests and had assured to commerce rich and varied products. He had mastered a great continent, and yet, as he saw death approaching with long strides, his only anxiety was for the little colony he had founded and cherished and many times personally supported with his own funds. He feared only his work might fall into incompetent hands. He wished the administration to have clear knowledge of the value of the new conquests and to see to it that the executives were entirely disinterested. He dreamed constantly of the Louisiana he had started and of its future relations with its enemy, the English, to whose grand destiny he first called attention. His eyes would have closed more peacefully and his anxiety been considerably abated had he known that for over forty years his capable and energetic brother Bienville would watch over and nourish his tiny settlement until he too, though at a much greater age, should pass out of the drama in which he had

borne heroic part, unwept by Minister, unrewarded by King, and almost forgotten by his countrymen. Like Iberville in Hudson Bay, the very fibre of his being was inextricably interwoven with the history of Louisiana, where his glory was gained and his life sacrificed.

Associated with Bienville in the development of the colony, the name of Le Moyne de Chateauguay is often found, and Le Moyne de Serigny, a "Capitaine de Vaisseau," together with his son. Of all the remaining sons of that splendid Le Moyne brotherhood, Maricourt alone had stayed in Canada to aid and support Charles de Longueuil, the oldest son and heir to the barony. The others, either in the discharge of duty or pursuit of glory, from affection or from Iberville's ascendancy over their minds, followed him to Louisiana and finally died in the service of the King. For seven years at a time poor Bienville could not even draw his salary, and yet he worked with the same zealous optimism as ever. Always he held in mind the plans and projects which Iberville had outlined, and hardly an emergency arose which his far-sighted brother had not planned to control. The secret intrigue and machinations of Nicholas la Salle gradually began to produce an effect, which was assisted shortly after Iberville's death by M. de la Vente, the recently arrived parish *curé*, who was estranged by his jealousy of the respect and consideration which Bienville and his

brothers had always shown to their father's old employers the Jesuits. Nicholas la Salle, the Commissary, and De la Vente, the *curé*, had begun a war of accusation and denunciation against Iberville and Bienville which reminds one strongly of the old combination of Intendant and Jesuit against Frontenac. The attacks had begun before Iberville's death, when they accused him and Bienville of peculation and malversation in office, illicit trade in skins, and personal ill-treatment. M. la Salle, in writing the Minister, begged that the accusations be kept secret, since Iberville and his brothers formed a league which governed everything, even access to the Minister, and, as Iberville had sure ways of learning everything that transpired, they would surely inflict upon him all the sufferings possible if his reports became known. The letters became so numerous and the charges so specific that Pontchartrain finally sent out a new Commissary, M. Diron d'Artaguette, who was instructed to inquire into the truth of the charges, and if substantiated to remove Bienville from office and return him to France for trial and to demand an accounting from Iberville's heirs.

No more fitting tribute to the long years of unselfish devotion to the interests of the Crown could be desired than the report of d'Artaguette absolving the Le Moynes from all guilt and expressing admiration at their remarkable success among the adverse conditions in which their work was done. As for

Iberville, not only was he brilliantly acquitted of all wrong-doing, but it was shown that so long as he lived he had sustained the colony of Louisiana with loans of large sums, without interest, the treasury not being able to furnish them, and that his advances had greatly reduced the inheritance of his wife and children.

Bienville, too, was exonerated with a glowing eulogy that vindicated his name forever. More fortunate than his brother, the value of his services has been recognized in the city he founded, and he has received a permanent place and high rank on the deathless page. King * says :

“In Louisiana a slight change of the Canadian original is offered in the personality of the young, rude, unlettered Canadian, who from midshipman and Lieutenant of Marines, had been pushed to the first place of a command; whose entire character and administration constituted one obstinate determination to maintain and increase the grasp of the country left him by Iberville. Bulwarking himself against the Spaniards on the east, spying out their land in the west, fending off the English at the north, keeping his channel of the Mississippi well open, scouring the Gulf with his little vessels, arming the Indians against one another and against everybody but himself, buying and borrowing food, quartering his men in times of dearth upon the Indians, recalling them at every new invoice from France, Havana, or Vera Cruz, marrying off the girls, breaking the Canadians into farmers, punishing savages, repressing his own bandits, building, sowing, carrying out

* “Sieur de Bienville.”

with a handful of soldiers and a pittance of money the great Mississippi and Gulf policy of Iberville. His activity and dexterity, it would seem, must have compelled acknowledgment even from his detractors."

He was a worthy brother to the great Iberville, whose death was almost a fatal blow to his little colony. Bienville was not long in finding out that his own position was greatly weakened in the loss of the influence of his doughty brother. Nicholas de la Salle now even taunted him with his helplessness and his inability to hurt him. Pontchartrain also keenly felt the loss of his strong and wonderfully efficient aid. Finding at once that his burden was far too heavy, he looked about for some shoulders to which he might shift it, and in 1712 turned the Charter over to Crozat, at the same time prescribing therein that Iberville's scheme for the erection of five posts along the Mobile, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers should be carried out, as well as his other idea that *agriculture* and not mining should be made the principal business of the colony. Since the object of Crozat was purely commercial, since he intended to do for himself what Iberville and Bienville were trying to do in the interests of the colony, his work did not succeed, and the colony, fighting, starving, reduced by Indian wars, but steadily growing nevertheless, moved on toward the Mississippi bubble and even, in spite of that, to ultimate success.

Iberville's colony inevitably took its destined place

in the serried ranks of the States, while the city his brother founded became the metropolis of the South.

As for Iberville himself no more romantic or picturesque character ever fought his adventurous way through the annals of any country, and yet his memory is not often recalled in this commercial age. No records remain to throw light on many interests which might have concerned him. He was an energetic man of action, and it was doubtless much harder for him to write those clear, modest, unembroidered narratives that constitute his official reports than it was to do the almost incredible feats reported. In geography he was greatly interested from the practical standpoint of a navigator and explorer, and his voyages were extremely valuable to that branch of science. Toward theory, abstractions, impractical details, and scientific speculations he had no inclination or interest, but he was a stalwart organizer, and he struck hard for France. Life was never a sport to Iberville, but a deeply earnest contest, and although he took a terrible joy in the thorough performance of his duties, yet his many friends in their constant and unswerving loyalty reveal him as the possessor of unusual social qualities and a rarely gifted personality, while his loftiness of mind and nobility of character preserved in his life a purity of intent and moral practice that was uncommon in that none too fastidious age. The rigor of the monastery, the futile self-imposed penalties of the flagellants,

were as nothing to the tasks he undertook for the advancement of his patriotic designs. These formed his life work and life interest. He professed orthodox Catholicism and was exemplary in his devotion to its rites and creed. His faith, however, was in his own strong intellect, while his belief, his inmost conviction, his true religion, was the blended love of his own country and an abiding hostility toward the English. These two strong passions dominated his life and compelled him on his career. Napoleon had his star which failed him but once, Nelson had his orb of light which was soaring in the zenith on that last fateful but triumphant day, and Iberville too had his beacons which illumined his perilous path and guided his restless feet. Every act in his brief career was a tribute to the high seriousness of his patriotism as he devoutly understood it and to his intense continuance of purpose.

On land and sea, both north and south, Iberville had wrung his honors from the unwilling foe. The icy blasts of the Arctic seas, the trade winds of the tropics, and the balmy zephyrs of the Gulf had borne on their winnowing wings the leaves for his garland; what La Salle fruitlessly conceived, what Frontenac helplessly saw, Iberville strenuously executed. "Where La Salle had ploughed, others were to sow the seed; and on the path which the undespairing Norman had hewn out, the Canadian, d'Iberville, was to win for France a vast though transient dominion."

Thus in his ripe manhood at the age of forty-five, perished Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, the greatest of that family of Le Moynes, whose exploits and inestimable services during the infancy of the colony have brought a glorious inheritance to the people of Canada. Iberville was a man in whom indomitable energy, vaulting ambition, and relentlessness of purpose were joined with a rare executive ability to give him the highest qualities of leadership. He was the ideal of a bold, courageous, and resourceful commander of men who exhibited throughout a life of hardship the utmost limit of endurance and fortitude, and, if stern to others, he was pitiless to himself. He had ability to plan, the strength to execute, and the wise statesmanship to retain and govern both on sea and land, and by this sheer force of character, associated with an amiable and engaging personality, he rose step by step on the ladder of his achievements from an obscure boyhood in the frontier village of Montreal to the eminence of the most distinguished Canadian of his time and the most skilful Commander in the navy of France. It has been well said that if his great talents had been displayed on the seas and continent of Europe instead of in vague and distant portions of the New World, he would have attained the highest place and the greatest renown among the contestants on that vast, confused arena.

Iberville's ambition was to be a conqueror, and conqueror he was, first on the lists of Hudson Bay,

Newfoundland, and New York, until he had reduced all to submission and his relentless course was interrupted by the untimely Peace of Ryswick. Then, with expanding wings and growing mind, he laid for himself a vast design in which he could explore, defend, and conquer with ruthless and untiring energy ; and if dreams of a nation of his own should come to him, located on the Gulf and extending broadly upward and outward, it would not be beyond his ambitions nor his capacity ; and the heroes of the nations have been made of such as he.

So, from turmoil within and from storms without, Death delivered the restless, intrepid spirit of Iberville. A gallant soul passed into the unknown, the exalted, inspiring soul of *the first great Canadian*.

THE END

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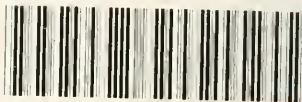
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